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THE NEW REPUBLIC

October 29, 1966, 35 cents

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The Challenge

YOU

Face

November 8

Our hopes for peace and social justice, our hopes for progress in the war against poverty, our hopes for quality education, our hopes for new programs and liberal solutions to our social problems are all under sentence of death unless we can mobilize the liberal forces of the country and turn back the forces of conservatism and reaction.

We must meet the November election challenge or face the end of responsible opposition to escalation of the Vietnam war and our hopes for negotiated settlement. We may, indeed, face the critical danger of widening war, plus the end of any effective domestic program.

Defeat of liberal Congressmen and Senators and election of hawks and budget-slashers is a real possibility. At stake are not only some fifty Congressional and a dozen Senatorial seats held by knowledgeable, determined critics of American Vietnam policy, but the victory margin for every significant piece of liberal legislation in this Congress, as well.

Without the votes of these Representatives and Senators, there could have been neither a Voting Rights Act nor the present poverty program—inadequate as it is. Without their votes, there can be no effective legislation for our cities. Without their votes, there will be no real opposition to dangerous adventurism in foreign policy. These are the men who have supported every effort to get a negotiated settlement in Vietnam. Without their votes, the hawks will take over, unchallenged.

ADA has been organizing support for liberal candidates. How effective a job we do depends in large measure on how much support we can mobilize. The work is continuing. Now it must be intensified. Of course the cost of all this come high, and we need both your physical and financial support.

Your dollars can preserve and extend the liberal bloc on Capitol Hill and in the State Houses around the nation. Your dollars can help preserve and extend the never-ending campaign for a liberal foreign policy, for justice and freedom for all, and for economic security for everyone.

The Record

Sixty-one (61) House members were elected in 1964 with less than 55% of the vote, and 14 of them by less than 1%.

The importance of these votes can be seen in the margin of victory on these key issues in this Congress:

1. Medicare	**45**
2. Repeal of 14(b)	**18**
3. Rent Supplement	**4**
4. Rules Reform	**19**
5. Minimum Wage	**19**
6. Creation of HUD	**33**
7. Public Power	**3**
8. Foreign Aid	**2**

The loss of just twenty-five (25) votes will doom all liberal legislation in the next Congress, and cut back any hope of real advances. It will herald the rebuilding of the reactionary coalition. **And a loss of liberal votes in Congress will in almost every case decrease the number of responsible opponents of the Vietnam war.**

Joseph S. Clark

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

Americans for Democratic Action
1223 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

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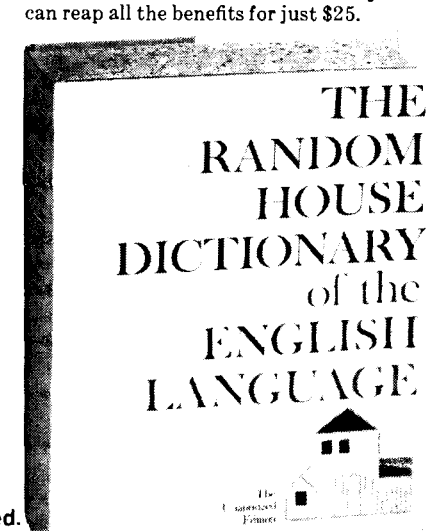

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Barry's Fabulous Congress

★ We can't let the Fabulous 89th become history without a toast to the man who made it all possible, Barry Goldwater. Medicare, schools, demonstration cities – you know the list. A republic, alas, is always ungrateful and Barry's own innate modesty doubtless makes him reluctant to take responsibility for what he did – the greatest extension of federal intervention in the affairs of the citizen in history. But we shan't forget. Credit, too, goes to the little old ladies in tennis shoes who picked Barry and then created the no-compromise mood at the Cow Palace.

In two electrifying years the old image of Congress has faded; it is normally the do-nothing branch, the fretful defender of prerogatives which are more and more lost to the White House because Congress won't put its own house in order. There have been three great vintage Congresses in this century: the 63rd (Wilson), the 73rd (FDR) and now this, which tops every one of them.

How did it happen? There were 20 years of backed-up social reform waiting above Niagara for the dam to break; there was the penitential American mood after Kennedy's slaying; there was the skilled hand of LBJ to manipulate a majority if he got it, and then there was Our Barry to hand him the majority. Alas, its like will not soon be seen again, maybe not for 20 or 30 years.

Even so, Mr. Johnson's actual two-year working majority was rarely more than 40 House members. The normal midterm bounceback of the "out" party next month will probably wipe this majority out (though every day the Republicans' initial hopes seem reduced). Take the precedent-shattering demonstration cities bill last week. The Republicans mounted a great drive to recommit (kill) this bill. (The trick is, you see, to try to beat a measure by "recommittal" and then afterwards, if that fails, to vote *for* it on the final roll call.) The GOP recommittal motion lost 178-141, Republicans voted 81-16 for it; Democrats 60-162 against. The margin: 37 votes.

Now see the significance. If the election replaces 20 liberal freshman Democrats with the Old-guard conservatives they mostly replaced – no demonstration cities bill. Or, more realistically, a general watering-down of the bill and all similar bills, all along the line. That, we gloomily assume, is what's going to happen, as Goldwater's 89th departs.

No More Poor?

★ We noticed the other day that Martin Luther King had endorsed a "guaranteed annual income" to put a cash floor under everybody. It's getting so that the so-called negative income tax bobs up everywhere. It's worth knowing more about it. Chicago University's conservative economist Milton Friedman endorses it, one of Goldwater's 1964 economic advisers. He doesn't want the state messing about with huge welfare payments. Why not give them cash and end paternalism? A lot cheaper, he argues.

Last February a Canadian parliamentary commission under Sen. David A. Croll endorsed "an income-guaranteed program for all persons aged 65 and over." In Washington a 14-member presidential body, National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress (golly, what a title – NCOTAAEP) unexpectedly did the same thing. Iowa University's president, Howard Bowen, was chairman. The report came Feb. 4. "We are convinced," it said, "that rising productivity has brought this country to the point at last when all citizens may have a decent standard of living at a cost in resources the economy can easily bear . . . [Congress] should give serious study to a 'minimum income allowance' or 'negative income-tax program'."

What is this thing, anyway? Well, the US sets the "poverty line" officially at incomes below $3,200 for non-farm families of four, and $1,540 or so for individuals. There are 34 million below this line (including 14.8 million children), an extraordinary statistic for the world's richest country. It would take an officially estimated $11.7 billions a year "to close the poverty gap," that is, raise all Americans above the poverty line. (Incidental figure: 35 percent of all elderly social security beneficiaries in 1965 were living in poverty.)

Poverty and Taxes

★ Pretty nearly all Americans, except Birchites, now agree that the progressive income tax is a good thing. The rich pay more and the poor less because we feel the income gap shouldn't be too wide if we're going to keep capitalism. The awkward thing is that the really poor people don't pay any income tax. It's not progressive for them because they are not included in the system.

Poor and destitute people, of course, get charity. Billions go into charity. But is this really efficient? It is a governmental and do-good-er paternalism, but in addition to that isn't it wasteful? Why not just let poor people make out income taxes like the rest of us, and if they fall below the poverty line pay them a negative income tax to make up the difference? They would decide themselves how to spend it, not the government. Bizarre? It certainly would create some problems while solving others.

It all looks pretty preposterous, at first glance, and yet we found the *NYTimes* flirting with it the other day. Sen. Edward Kennedy backs "assured annual incomes for the elderly under Social Security." So does Sen. Prouty (R, Vt.). Economist Galbraith says, "We can easily afford a floor income." (He puts a $20-billion-a-year price tag on it.) Don't forget that Congress has recently taken one initial step, to pay federal rent subsidies to poor people. It's all in Edward Bellamy's 1888 Utopian romance, *Looking Backward*. You may feel it's unlikely, unlikely as going to the moon. But that metaphor needs revision these days.

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Traffic in Hunger

One day there may be no nation, not even India, in urgent need of American aid. When that happy time comes, or even before, the recipients of aid are likely to rise up and tell the Congress of the United States where to go. Meantime, as part of their punishment for being poor and hungry, they have to eat their aid, strings and all, or starve. An unhappy part of the task of each administration is to persuade the congressional beadles not to attach strings so thick and coarse that even the neediest beneficiary may gag over his bowl of American gruel. Congress responds with loud debate that may get little public attention in this country but every word of which is read, with emotion, in the capitals of the countries concerned. Domestic opponents of foreign aid have this in their favor, that the way it is traditionally handled on Capitol Hill is more calculated to breed anti-Americanism abroad, and to lay the faggots for the burning of information libraries, than to win friends. The administration and even individual congressmen are always referring to the countries the US helps as "proud nations," but Congress' conduct of its proceedings constantly wounds that pride and then rubs salt in the wounds. Nor do the clumsy and frequently incomprehensible compromises with which the debate is generally anointed at the end furnish balm; hurriedly framed at the pistol-point of presidential veto of the congressmen's original bad intentions, they throw contempt on the congressional process.

This year's proceedings were somewhat worse than usual. The strings on food-for-peace are tighter and tougher than ever. With the Senate protesting, the House at first stuck, 306 to 21, to a total ban on US food aid to any nation selling anything to either North Vietnam or Cuba but carefully excluding "United States installations" in Cuba. Secretary of State Rusk was out-Rusked; no softie on Castro, he was impelled to protest to Speaker McCormack that foreigners "will not understand that we should want to keep even foodstuffs and humanitarian products [medicine] from going to Cuba." Rusk pointed out that "our own embargo does not go that far." He thought some countries might "be unwilling or unable to pay the political price." One affected country is India, whose trade with Castro has dwindled to almost nothing but which is still guilty of selling $1,000 worth of jute bags to Cuba monthly. Senator McGovern, the former head of food-for-peace, warned that the "dictatorial restriction" approved by the House could lead to the collapse of Mrs. Gandhi's government, which is already under heavy fire for knuckling to the US

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over rupee devaluation, and to the insatiable demands of American oil and fertilizer companies. Republican and Democratic representatives, including the chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, Harold D. Cooley (D, N.C.), declared they wouldn't budge. Finally, they budged a bit, but as gracelessly as possible. Last week, conferees on the food-for-peace bill proposed denying food to hungry people in countries that trade with Cuba, but letting the President make exceptions, at his own discretion and risk, of countries that agree to send Cuba only medical supplies, food and farm materials. The loophole permits India to sell jute bags, and Morocco to sell phosphate fertilizer; Algeria might get by, by claiming its wine is for medicinal purposes. The Poles, Yugoslavs and Egyptians are probably still in trouble.

What is given without dignity is received in humiliation. The proclaimed purpose of the food-for-peace legislation is "to use the abundant agricultural productivity of the United States to combat hunger and malnutrition," which the House committee report on the legislation described as "the greatest reflection of the deep humanitarianism of America." But another purpose of food-for-peace is "to promote the foreign policy of the United States," and Congress interprets this in ways that shock the Secretary of State and make hypocritical nonsense of the claim to humanitarianism. A grant without strings to the World Food Organization would serve both our foreign-policy and our humanitarian purposes better than present congressional bumbledom. This country's food surpluses are vanishing fast, and the task for the future is to help countries with hungry populations to grow more food for themselves. India imported 11 million tons of American grain in the past year and may ask another 11 million by the end of 1967; her per acre yields are among the world's lowest. She has been paying in rupees, but now food-for-peace intends switching gradually to dollar credits.

Thanks to previous food sales, the United States now has something like $1.5 billion in rupees; let's encourage the Indian government to use the money for making cheap loans to Indian farmers who by the millions are the helpless prey of rapacious Indian moneylenders. The House committee on food-for-peace expressed concern "about the lack of progress made by Public Law 480 recipients in increasing their per capita agricultural production, particularly food"; it thought local-currency funds from US food sales should be used "to assist . . . self-help measures." That's right, and all the more wonder therefore that Congress uses its leverage instead for irrelevancies like trade with Cuba. The conferees accepted a Senate provision to "work for the expansion of the United Nations world food program"; that's what needs pushing.

Unsafe Flying

The Civil Aeronautics Board this month released its report on the crash last year of an American Airlines Boeing 727 jet near the Cincinnati airport. The report, which took 11 months to put together, said about the same thing the CAB, without benefit of complete investigation, said months ago: the 727 is fully airworthy despite four crashes involving the plane in a six-month period. The probable cause of the Cincinnati crash: failure of the crew to mind the altimeters during a visual approach in a rainstorm.

The report confirms what many suspected – that the 727 does have a high "sink rate." The "highly responsive and versatile flight characteristics may be misleading to the pilot. . . ." They may give him "the impression that greater liberties may be taken with the aircraft in normal operating situations, especially in the approach/landing regimes. . . . High descent rates . . . can develop more rapidly than in the less sophisticated models. . . ." Pilots must be trained to cope with these characteristics. Presumably they now are.

Once fears that some defect in the plane had caused the rash of accidents had been put aside, attention focused on a secondary issue, the crashworthiness of the 727. Forty-three persons died in the crash of a United Air Lines Boeing 727 last November in Salt Lake City in what the CAB referred to as a "survivable accident." That plane, landing at Salt Lake, impacted 335 feet short of the runway; the landing gear broke through the fuselage, rupturing the fuel line; fire broke out. None of the 91 on board died of impact injuries. ("The impact of the crash did not produce any traumatic injuries which would have precluded the escape of every passenger.") Forty-eight managed to scramble to safety. The others were "overcome by dense smoke, intense heat, and flames, or a combination of these," stated the CAB report issued seven months later.

A preliminary CAB investigation suggested, and the Federal Aviation Agency concurred, that several changes in the 727 would be advisable. The landing gear should be made to break away in a crash landing so as not to puncture the fuselage. The fuel lines should be strengthened so that when the landing gear pierces the fuselage, fuel lines aren't ruptured. The electrical lines should be moved away from the fuel lines so as to lower the risk of fire when they break.

The FAA arranged informally with the Boeing Company to "retrofit" remaining 727's with these modifications, and in early February of this year it was said the changes would be made on all planes within four months. Boeing has had trouble devising a brace which will cause landing gear to break away in a *crash* landing but not in a normal *hard* landing. The company is satisfied with the other "fixes" it has put out to meet

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the FAA's recommendations. A spokesman said Boeing started shipping fuel line "fixes" to the airlines with 727's in June; the last of them will be delivered this month. The power line "fixes" were ready in May and virtually all of them have been shipped. A new landing gear brace was ready in March but the spokesman said "We're not satisfied we have the best fix."

What had been an informal agreement became a formal order when in late August the FAA decided to direct the airlines to make the changes in fuel and electrical lines "within 1,000 hours' time in service." This gave those airlines which had not already made the alterations an extra three months or so (based on a 10-hour flying day) to effect changes that were supposed to have been made last June.

The CAB's preliminary investigation of the Salt Lake crash also suggested that the interior furnishings of the plane contributed to the spread of fire and gave off a heavy, black toxic smoke that contributed to the loss of life. The report said the CAB understood the FAA had just completed a study of airplane fires which "disclosed a number of deficiencies in the materials presently being installed in aircraft interiors and that materials are available which would be far superior to those being used today." It recommended that *new* planes be fitted with these materials less susceptible to fire, and suggested that the carriers be "strongly encouraged" to use newer, less flammable materials *when they refurnish their planes.* A 1964 FAA study concluded that flammability standards unchanged since 1947 are "lenient" and don't encourage development of safer cabin furnishings.

At the end of July the FAA finally published proposed new standards for improving the crashworthiness and facilitating evacuation of planes. The stricter flammability standards it proposed would not require refurnishing a single plane; that would not be practical. New planes, of course, would have to comply and when older planes began to look tacky and needed refurbishing (after June 30, 1968) they too would have to conform. But these proposals are not yet binding. The September 30 deadline for comment from the airlines has been extended to October 31.

Between 1955 and 1964, 153 plane accidents were caused by or resulted in fire. Of 4,559 passengers involved, 1,955 died. David Sanford

The Sanctity of Pork

Since 1789 the federal government has subsidized in a variety of ways the transportation system in the United States. But it has never had a national transportation policy. Its largesse has been distributed according to the political imperatives of the moment – to the railroads in one generation, to the airlines in another. The public questions that have never been decided in Washington are what kind of a system the nation requires, who is to pay for it and how.

The result has been poverty of service for some modes, affluence for others; burdensome taxes on some users and tax-exemption for others. At their own expense, motorists have built the superhighways. They have also built the costly inland navigation system which the bargelines, the oil refiners, the coal and steel companies use tax-free. Public funds enable the most affluent four percent of our travelers to fly coast to coast, sipping champagne and being narcotized by television. Public neglect leaves the Harlem commuter to the mercies of a filthy, crowded subway system.

These disparities have troubled people in the Budget Bureau and in other crannies of the federal government and Congress has at last created a Department of Transportation to deal with them. The creation appears, however, to have been an idle gesture.

The department will bring under one roof 95,000 members of the bureaucracy who are now dispersed in 35 agencies and who now spend, willy-nilly, more than $6 billion a year to promote and develop the transportation industry.

The theory was that a unified department, acting under the central direction of a cabinet officer, could establish a national transportation policy and assign priorities to the expenditure of public funds. Shall the federal government continue to spend $1 billion a year on the highly-profitable airlines which carry 250,000 passengers a day? Or shall it increase the $40 million appropriation for mass transportation systems that carry 27 million passengers each day? Shall it continue to put three times more each year – about $700 million – in a bankrupt merchant marine than it spends on public housing?

These questions have been decided in the past, as Senator Paul Douglas once put it, by "The good old rule/The simple plan/That they shall take/Who have the Power/And they shall keep/Who can." Each segment of the transportation industry (mass transit excepted) has had its allies and patrons in Congress and the bureaucracy. Each has gotten what it could, irrespective of any priorities of need. Thus, Congress this

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year voted planning money for the lobby clustered around the Corps of Engineers to begin surveys of a fantastic canal system to link Youngstown, Ohio, with the Mississippi Gulf, a project that will require billions to complete and would have the most dubious utility. But Rep. Michael Kirwan (D, Ohio), chairman of the public works subcommittee, has dreamed of this boondoggle for years and his colleagues responded to the plea of Mississippi's John Bell Williams: "Let's build this ditch for Mike."

The White House and the Budget Bureau which presumably assert the public interest in matters of this kind have been ineffectual because they have little more conception of transportation priorities than the Congress itself, as Budget Director Schultze confessed this fall in supporting creation of the new department. "Unlike other areas of national concern, the President and Congress cannot look to a single official with cabinet status for the development of co-ordinated and consistent transportation policies. . . . Unless the needs of each mode of transportation are evaluated within the context of the nation's overall transportation requirements, we may produce serious imbalance in our transportation system. Undue emphasis may be placed on certain modes, while others may be neglected." The solution, Schultze and Johnson believed, was a Secretary with the authority to develop "investment criteria and standards" irrespective of political criteria. It was a modest proposal but it created such consternation in the bureaucracy, in Congress and in the industry itself that Rep. Chet Holifield (D, Calif.), the floor manager for the bill, was driven to complain that "in my 24 years in Congress I have never before encountered the atmosphere of pressure from lobbyists, such a barrage of distortion of the truth, as has occurred during the consideration of the Department of Transportation legislation."

The first object of this pressure was the Administration, which caved in quietly at several crucial points. The Civil Aeronautics Board and the Interstate Commerce Commission were left virtually intact as regulators and patrons of their clients, the airlines, the truckers and the railroads. The Corps of Engineers, which invests billions in navigation facilities for the barge lines and their customers, was excluded from the new department's jurisdiction. The new Secretary was denied the authority to choose his own principal assistants (the President will do it for him with the consent of the Senate). The shipbuilders, who survive on nearly $3 billion a year in government contracts and subsidies, received advance assurances that whether the merchant marine was or was not subjected to the authority of the new department, the present subsidy program would continue under a friendly administrator. Urban transportation affairs were left, for the moment at least, in the ineffectual care of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Even so, the transportation industry and its congressional patrons were dissatisfied and proceeded to tailor the bill far more to their liking. The struggle was led by the maritime unions whose members are the beneficiaries of the most generous public welfare program ever enacted by Congress. To keep their wage scales at double the going rate in the world market, the federal government pays $7,200 of every $10,000 earned by an American seaman. It provides them with free medical care and trains them at public expense to be officers of the deck. But they are sailing a sinking fleet. US flag ships carried 50 percent of our ocean cargoes in 1935; today they carry 7 percent and have become increasingly irrelevant to both international trade and national defense. The only effect of 30 years of government subsidy has been, former Maritime Administrator Nicholas Johnson has said, to "hold together an economically uncompetitive industry to keep it from going into bankruptcy."

Under the President's proposal the new Secretary would have been required to determine, among other things, whether the maritime subsidies can any longer be justified. The unions and the subsidized shipowners were determined to prevent that from happening. They persuaded the House to strip the Secretary of authority to establish "investment criteria and standards." These judgments will continue to be made by Congress according to the principle of pork.

They succeeded also in excluding the merchant marine from the jurisdiction of the new department. It will continue under the patronage of a Maritime Administration in the Commerce Department.

Having gutted the bill, having left the new Secretary with the authority to assign office space and little else, Congress approved the legislation and sent it to the White House where it becomes the latest triumph of consensus politics. A half-dozen congressional committees will continue to fix the spending priorities and determine the "investment criteria." The bureaucracy will grow larger, administrative costs will rise by $5-million a year; otherwise nothing will change soon.

There is no greater prospect of requiring the expense account patrons of the airlines or the corporate beneficiaries of the waterways to pay their own freight, as the highway motorist is required to do. There is no greater prospect that the seamen, the shipowners and the shipbuilders will be weaned from the federal dole. And there is no reason to believe that the dream of Dallas and Youngstown to become inland seaports will be any further from realization when the newest member of the cabinet takes office one day soon in an impressive ceremony in the White House.

RICHARD HARWOOD

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Conversations on the Red Riviera

Everything Comes Back to– "But What about Vietnam?"

Vacationing Communist intellectuals and technocrats sun themselves on a strip of Black Sea coast known as the Red Riviera. But this summer there was a big cloud in their holiday sky – Vietnam. At Mamaia, the Russian resort on the Black Sea, I shared a beach umbrella with a high-ranking communist economist. "We never believed the Americans would go as far as this," he said gloomily; "sending hundreds of thousands of soldiers to South Vietnam, bombing the north, contemplating years of fighting." He didn't seem much comforted by my reply, that two years ago Lyndon Johnson himself would have laughed at anyone predicting what Johnson has done.

On the Red Riviera people talked more about the soccer world championship in London (shown on television everywhere in eastern Europe), about automobiles, new styles in Paris fashion and new jazz tunes, than about politics. Yet there wasn't one conversation that didn't end with the question: "And this war in Vietnam, what will it lead to? Will the Americans attack China? Are we going to have a third world war?"

All over eastern Europe, even more than in western Europe, the war in Vietnam is considered a great misfortune, a frightening proof of American aberration. For years, the prospect of a long period of coexistence with the United States has been the sole ray of hope on the dark horizon of communist Europe. People expected after the 1964 American elections that bridge-building between the United States and eastern Europe, which President Johnson's predecessor didn't have time to work at, would begin. All these countries looked forward eagerly to American credits, technical help, the chance to buy American machines, computors, licenses and raw materials. The communist intelligentsia of the bloc were impatient to read American books and publications, listen to American records – above all to be invited to the United States, with all expenses paid by one of the numerous American foundations. And then the Americans, by the deepening involvement in Vietnam, betrayed their hopes. The result is that while the prestige of the individual American, owner of a big car and a fabulously rich person, is not affected in the communist world, the image of the United States government which was so glorious two years ago is shattered. American leaders are considered to be foolish, dangerous men, capable of causing a world catastrophe by acting with the carelessness of a child. I was much struck by the unanimity with which Poles, Rumanians, Czechs and Hungarians, who were extremely critical of their regimes and sharply denounced many communist activities, condemned American policy in Vietnam. Until recently, they had immense respect for what they believed to be the American way of formulating policy: a long-range master plan, prepared in advance and elaborated with precision by the best brains. Now, they realize – they say – that American policy is made ad hoc, without analyzing what is going on in the world.

It would be wrong nevertheless to think that they now regard the United States as hopeless. Sharply critical of American policy, they also hint that their attitude could change, should the unfortunate war in Vietnam end. They are careful not to destroy what links there are or might be. A Rumanian translator of American literature told how at the beginning of July he was on vacation, somewhere in the mountains, far away from Bucharest. One day he got a telephone call from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, insisting on his coming to the July 4 reception at the American Embassy. The ministry official told him that high-ranking Rumanian leaders couldn't attend the reception for obvious reasons, but it was important that "private persons" should appear.

The people I met didn't believe in their countries' sending volunteers to Vietnam, or in any direct involvement. They remembered that before 1950 their countries had recovered from World War Two and achieved bearable levels of existence. Then came the war in Korea, and Stalin forced the "popular democracies" to alter their development plans radically, drastically reducing production of consumer goods and intensifying military production and heavy industry. They had to send to Korea goods which were never paid for, and had to put up with a secret-police terror and political purges. Nobody wants that again, neither the government nor the people.

Another cause of uneasiness is the weakness of the Soviet Union. A well-known writer told me, "For twenty years now, the Moscow leaders have proclaimed that if the imperialists dare to raise a finger against any communist country, they will be immediately destroyed by the entire power of the Soviet Union. Now, American bombs fall day after day on North Vietnam."

China is also held in low regard; and eastern Europe's relations with France are excellent on paper only, for despite General de Gaulle's trip to Moscow, and his foreign minister's visits to all other communist capitals of Europe, France has really no policy towards eastern Europe. It is rather the businessmen coming from Hamburg and from Frankfort, from Munich and from Dusseldorf, who are filling the void which now exists in Warsaw and in Prague, in Bucharest and in Sofia.

Philip Ben

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South Africa under Its New Leader

From a Special Correspondent in Capetown

Dr. Verwoerd died politically intestate. He bequeathed neither an apartheid blueprint nor an heir to execute it. He had ruled so autocratically and secretively that no one knew exactly what he had in mind. On the very day of his assassination he was due to make a major speech indicating new directions in foreign and domestic policies, and as he never spoke from a prepared speech, or was much given to consultation, none of his colleagues can say definitely what he had intended to disclose. He was holding so many threads in his hand that John Vorster, his successor, cannot possibly know where they all lead.

When Verwoerd became prime minister in 1958, Afrikaner nationalism entrusted him with its destiny, and he proceeded to shape it without taking anyone into his confidence. The concept of Bantustans, potentially self-governing black states within South Africa's borders, was his personal concept of a solution of the race problem, and one which many Afrikaner nationalists thought was taking "separate freedoms" too far.

The change in prime ministers, therefore, is a change in the autocratic rule of the governing Nationalist Party. Vorster is tough but not an autocrat; he is decentralizing authority in the cabinet, giving ministers more scope for initiative, and being surprisingly conciliatory in his dealings with the official opposition, the United Party, and in his handling of South Africa's foreign relations. All this suggests that even at this early stage he has specific ideas of his own, and a certain strategy for achieving them.

But before Vorster can start implementing his own ideas he will have to solve the immediate problems he has inherited: if Verwoerd left no blueprint, he certainly left headaches. One is Rhodesia, to whose survival South Africa is making a considerable contribution in terms of the policy of "normal trade" blandly enunciated by Verwoerd. This is brinkmanship, because if Britain asks the United Nations now to enforce selected mandatory sanctions over Rhodesia the whole of southern Africa could be included in the tightening squeeze on the Smith regime. There are loopholes, of course: sanctions might be "selected" by Britain to minimize confrontation with South Africa; or a last-minute settlement between Britain and Rhodesia miraculously might occur; but failing this, South Africa itself might become the target of UN sanctions and even of a blockade. Since becoming prime minister, Vorster has given a hint of his own attitude over Rhodesia: he has reiterated Verwoerd's policy of "normal trade," but he has added that he would like to see a settlement if possible. He is in a difficult position. If he were to withdraw South Africa's support from Rhodesia, he would get the backwash of the thwarted emotional affinity which South Africans have for their "kith and kin" across the Limpopo River: to this extent, Mr. Vorster is a captive of an inherited situation. He must hope for the best, therefore, and this means a settlement being reached before the UN applies mandatory sanctions. If no settlement is reached, Vorster – as the old Boers used to say when a lion was charging down upon them – will have to make a plan. It is as pragmatic as that.

South West Africa is another inherited headache. The offensive at the UN to have the territory removed from South Africa's jurisdiction is gathering momentum. South Africa's defensive strategy is to state its strong legal case, and to hope privately that the western powers, as usual, will step in and prevent the African bloc getting its way. Many white South Africans are convinced that time is on their side; that if at the current UN session the African states fail to get the west to move against South Africa they will become less and less able to pressure the western powers into action against apartheid. Government MP's here genuinely believe that soon "moral blackmail" – pressure exerted by powerless African states on powerful western states to fight their battles for them – will be a thing of the past, and the African states then will subside into their own internal economic and other problems. This is over-optimistic no doubt, but it does seem that the western powers have been weighing up the consequences of a confrontation with South Africa, and have decided it is not worth the candle; and as they are South Africa's principal trading partners, that is that.

Also, among the western nations the view is being canvassed strongly now that the way to deal with South Africa is not to ostracize her, or to hold the threat of an ultimate catastrophe over her head – because that, they say, is the way to drive South Africa into its worst excesses – but to draw South Africa as deeply as possible into the international community, to get it *involved*, so that it becomes a captive of new relationships.

This is the new re-think on South Africa. The premise on which it is based is that no international action against South Africa is feasible, that no change at the polls internally is possible, and that therefore change, if it is to be secured, must come *through* the Nationalist government itself.

What are the possibilities of getting South Africa

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involved in the international community, and more particularly in the African community – if the African community will accept South Africa? A start has been made with the two former British high commission territories, Basutoland and Bechuanaland, which have just become independent as Lesotho and Botswana (the third territory, Swaziland, will be given independence later). At the time of his death, Dr. Verwoerd had just met Basutoland's prime minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, in Pretoria: the first meeting with an African prime minister on South African soil. Both Chief Jonathan and Sir Seretse Khama, Botswana's president, have publicly professed "good neighborliness" toward South Africa, and Swaziland's King Sobhuza will follow suit. This will give South Africa three friendly buffer states (even if the friendship is involuntary, because the states are economic hostages to South Africa). Next, South Africa might turn to Malawi, where Dr. Hastings Banda has indicated that he, too, is prepared to accept coexistence with apartheid.

To persuade the independent African states to accept coexistence with an apartheid South Africa clearly is Vorster's principal objective. His government will not agree yet to an exchange of diplomatic missions (a black diplomat in Pretoria would be exposed to all kinds of apartheid indignities), but a suggested alternative is to have roving ambassadors who will not dally long enough in Pretoria to create social problems. All this might sound absurd to the foreign observer, but in this rigidly apartheid country it is a kind of thaw, just as the recent publication of photographs in the pro-Verwoerd press of the social "mixing" of whites and Africans in Lesotho and Botswana is another kind of thaw – the beginning of the end of the ice age of isolation?

The Consequences of Apartheid

It is on fragmentary evidence of this kind that South Africans build their hopes. They discern *some* fluidity in the situation. There is just one flaw: the whole superstructure of expectation and change still rests on the essentially unworkable base of apartheid, and although it is too early to be certain, Vorster has given a hint, here and there, that while he is prepared to be conciliatory in seeking foreign acceptance of apartheid, he is not prepared to be conciliatory about apartheid itself: he appears to have decided that apartheid must be pushed through now to some kind of conclusion.

For the 12 million Africans, this means that they must learn to accept the "homelands," or Bantustans (which constitute 13 percent of the surface area of South Africa and include practically nothing of its non-agricultural wealth). Outside those "homelands" they will have no political rights. Already, they have no representation in the central parliament: their status is that of political non-persons in "white" South Africa, meaning in the remaining 87 percent of the country. Two-thirds of the African population live outside the Bantustans, in the urban areas and on white-owned farms, and most of them are not likely ever to see the Bantustans; yet they are expected permanently to forfeit any claim to political rights in the "white" areas in which they and their children most probably will spend all their days.

Socially, too, apartheid is being enforced: an extraordinary degree of social separation is being achieved in a country with 3.5 million whites and 14 million non-whites; for most whites today the only capacity in which they meet non-whites is in the master-servant relationship. Systematically, the government is enforcing segregation – residentially, in public amenities, at concert halls, now on the beaches, and finally in a host of welfare organizations which function on a multi-racial basis. It is only in the economic sphere that apartheid is not being applied with such rigor. Admittedly, there is an industrial color bar, but it is an uneven barrier, which is only to be expected, seeing that non-whites constitute about two-thirds of the labor force in industry, and that there is an acute shortage of skills in the country. The presence of this vast non-white labor force in the "white" areas did not worry Verwoerd. He had rationalized the position by arguing that the only danger of integration came from political or social involvement, not from economic involvement.

Segregation is not confined to whites and non-whites: it operates between the non-white race groups as well. The 1,600,000 "Coloured" people and 530,000 Indians, for example, live in a kind of no-man's land. They have no "homelands" (or Colouredstans or Indianstans), yet they are being excluded from the white man's political and social institutions. They are being given national councils, which one day will be invested with the glorious title of "parliaments," but how these "parliaments" will function if they have no territorial jurisdiction outside of ordinary residential areas is a mystery.

At the moment, this crazy system – a superstructure of political and social segregation erected on a base of economic integration – works in the sense that there is stability and prosperity, particularly for the whites. The non-white political parties are shattered, the leaders are in exile or in jail, and the scene is quiet. The government's explanation for this is that, the "agitators" having been removed, the people are content (a more accurate explanation is that the security police have battened down the hatches). If the non-whites assert their claim to political and social rights, the whole scene must alter radically. It should be pointed out though that, at the moment, there is not the slightest glimmer of militant activity among the non-whites to secure their political, social or economic rights.

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Feds, Sharpers and Politics in Nevada

A few weeks ago, the governor, running for reelection, accused the FBI of "Nazi-like tactics" and of "running roughshod over our state law and the US Constitution." The junior US senator added his bit: "The issue is are we going to turn over the running of this state to the FBI and Justice Department, or are we going to run our own affairs without illegal interference by a bureaucratic governmental agency." Finally, the chairman of the state's most important agency dismissed a suggestion that the state "make peace" with the federal government with the words: "Appeasement is no more of an answer to federal invasion of states' rights than it was to Hitler."

No, the state is not Mississippi, the public officials are not conservative Southern Democrats. It is Nevada, the governor is incumbent Grant Sawyer, a moderate Democrat, the senator is Howard Cannon, a Johnson supporter, and the chairman is ex-FBI man Edward Olsen, head of the Nevada Gaming Control Board which regulates Nevada's legal $328-million gambling industry. The reason for their attacks is that Nevada gambling is in serious trouble, and gambling generates more than half the jobs and provides a quarter of the state revenue.

In 1950 the Kefauver committee exposed a vast network of gangster financing and control behind Nevada gambling, and Kefauver expressed the feelings of many who had watched the hearings that "gambling produces nothing and adds nothing to the economy or society of our nation. . . . I can shed no tears over the fact that experiments being conducted at the new atomic bomb testing range near Las Vegas are rattling the windows of the gambling dives and making the sharpers nervous." The Kefauver exposés were followed by regulatory legislation in Nevada, and in 1959 newly elected Governor Grant Sawyer sponsored a "hang tough" gambling control bill which established investigative and enforcement units to supervise the state's largest industry. But the gangsters had slipped into Nevada gambling before the door was closed, and, despite the new regulations, Nevada gambling never really did "clean house."

The FBI and Justice Department kept turning up evidence that gangsters still owned and controlled some casinos through "fronts" and that funds from illegal rackets were being sent into Nevada to be "cleaned up" in gambling transactions. The Internal Revenue Service believed that casinos were "skimming" off money in counting rooms before reporting their winnings for tax purposes. So in 1961, Attorney General Robert Kennedy sent a task force of agents into Nevada to search for links to organized crime, the IRS stepped up its investigations, and the FBI went into the wiretapping business in Las Vegas. Using a phony company called Henderson Novelty Company as a blind, the FBI installed over 100 taps in the major casinos along the "Strip" and from 1961 through 1963 monitored the conversations of Nevada's biggest gambling kingpins – all in violation, of course, of Nevada's wiretapping law. (See *The New Republic*, July 30, 1966, p. 19)

This June, an FBI agent testified at a federal court hearing that the Las Vegas office of Ruby Kalod, owner of the Stardust and Desert Inn casinos, had been wiretapped in 1963 to obtain evidence of "skimming" and diversion of funds to criminal activities. It was already public knowledge that the FBI had been wiretapping in 1963, but this is an election year and Nevada politicians reacted with shocked amazement. Governor Sawyer immediately called for prosecution of the FBI agents for violation of Nevada's wiretapping law, and one of his opponents in the Democratic primary, Las Vegas District Attorney Edward Marshall, threatened full-scale Grand Jury investigations.

The governor's race was suddenly transformed into a debate over federal interference. Sawyer was engaged in what was touted as the "race of the century" with his young, handsome Republican Lieutenant Governor Paul Laxalt. It had promised to be a campaign which would discuss Nevada's pressing problems – an exploding population (it is the fastest growing state in the union), overcrowded schools, economic dependence upon one industry, water shortage, and inadequate state services, welfare, and regulation of vested interests. But with gambling under attack, the other issues were thrown to the wind. Governor Sawyer appointed a special commission to investigate the charges made against Nevada gambling. The commission quizzed 32 casino operators behind closed doors and concluded, after the FBI agents refused to testify, that Nevada gambling was clean as a whistle. Armed with these findings, Sawyer opened his attack upon the FBI and the Justice Department. Nevadans have been treated to the spectacle of Sawyer, a progressive reformer during his eight years in office and an early Kennedy supporter in 1960, charging the federal government with blackmail, deception, and deliberate violation of the law, and Laxalt – a Goldwater Republican – telegraphing apologies to J. Edgar Hoover and charging Sawyer with refusing to make peace with the feds.

Until very recently, Sawyer used to boast about his ties to the Johnson administration (he was chairman of the committee which drafted the pro-Vietnam policy resolution at this summer's governors' conference and was one of seven governors called to the White House last month to hear the President's inflation plea). To-

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day, he no longer tells of his ability, together with Nevada's two Democratic senators, Alan Bible and Howard Cannon, to get favors in Washington. Nevada's gambling squabble with the federal government is unique, but Sawyer has a shrewd eye for political trends, and his opting for sectionalism may reflect his judgment of the current political climate in the West.

Sawyer's "states' rights" campaign seems to be paying off. He is finding support for his position not only in gambling-conscious Las Vegas and Reno (which account for about two-thirds of Nevada's voters), but also in the "cow counties" which have always been conservative strongholds. On the other hand, the AFL-CIO not only did not endorse him but attacked some of his policies at its state convention, and Laxalt has picked up some labor support by endorsing the "right to strike" after last year's Las Vegas cab dispute. Many liberals will stick with Sawyer because, although Laxalt has toned down his Goldwater conservatism since his narrow 84-vote defeat by Senator Cannon in 1964, he is still to the right of the governor on many issues.

One result of the current debate has been the emergence of a vocal group of voters who favor tighter regulation and taxation of the gambling industry. This is the first time that any sizeable political group has opposed the gambling establishment since Senator Pat McCarran threw in with the casino interests in the late 1940's and gambling established its stranglehold on the state. In the Democratic primary, two candidates each polled 20 percent of the vote on platforms calling for increased regulation and taxation of gambling. Gross gambling receipts are down, both state and federal governments may be losing tax money due to "skimming," gangster influences hang on, and bad publicity injures Nevada's gambling and resort industry. In his 1965 message to the legislature, Governor Sawyer said, in reference to his proposed civil rights bill: "Many of us are concerned about the right of states to resolve their own problems. If we do nothing, let us not be heard complaining of federal intervention." The words are strikingly applicable to the gambling controversy.

Edward F. Sherman

Mahoney—"A Legend in His Own Time"

by James Ridgeway

After six futile attempts to get into public office, George P. Mahoney, 65, a Baltimore paving contractor, narrowly won the Democratic nomination for governor of Maryland. He beat out Carlton Sickles, a liberal congressman who represented the interests of Senator Joseph Tydings, a Kennedy-type Democrat. There were three major contenders in the Democratic primary.

Mahoney ran against open housing on the slogan, "Your home is your castle – protect it." While the White House, Governor Tawes, the two Democratic senators and most of the Democratic congressmen have shied away from the candidate, he has enthusiastic backing among the rank-and-file steel and automobile workers who live in and around Baltimore. Half the state vote is in Baltimore; and a quarter in the Washington suburbs, which leaned toward Sickles in the primary. Mahoney's appeal is to the white laboring man who has fought his way up the ladder, and now is frightened at the prospect of a Negro coming into his block, breaking up his neighborhood and causing him to sell his house at a low price.

As running mates Mahoney has Francis "Bill" Burch, for attorney general, the man who ran a national campaign to put prayers back into the schools, and Louis L. Goldstein for comptroller. Goldstein is an indefatigable campaigner, well remembered in the state for having climbed telephone poles during the last election to reach constituents working on the wires.

The main opposition comes from Spiro T. Agnew, the Republican candidate, who hopes to attract the despairing Washington liberals. He is for fair housing laws that would cover new subdivisions and new apartments, but he opposes their application to individual home owners. Agnew liked Scranton in 1964, and wants Romney in 1968. He has some practical experience as Baltimore County executive. Hyman A. Pressman, the Baltimore city comptroller, is running as an independent. He is known for his proposal to set up a lottery to finance the state's growth and is for open housing.

Maryland is 3-1 Democratic by voter registration and while some Democrats may desert Mahoney for Agnew, Pressman can hurt Agnew by cutting into the Negro and Jewish vote in Baltimore. The race is uncertain.

Mahoney seized on open housing as his one issue

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during the primary campaign, when he went after the federal bill. "Suppose you had an apartment to rent and you turned down the first person that applied," he said. "You would immediately be summoned. Federal lawyers will beat on you. They'll pour it on you. You'll be in real bad trouble, but I won't desert you. I'll stick with you and stop this law, so help me God."

This was a switch in tactics. Last November at a meeting of candidates, Mahoney had declared for open housing. Asked by a reporter why he changed his mind, Mahoney said, "You asked the question, now you answer it. Anyhow I was a private citizen then – not a candidate for office. I wasn't even sure I was going to run for governor."

Mahoney took a slightly different tack on housing in a recent talk he gave to a Baltimore real-estate group. "There is no place in the real-estate business for open housing," he declared. "You'd have to rent or sell to anybody. If a white undesirable or a Chinaman or a Japanese or a Negro said they wanted to buy a home you listed, you'd have no alternative but to sell. This is where your business goes out the window." Lapsing into Negro dialect, he went on, "Suppose a great big fellow comes up and says, 'ah wants that apahtment,' he can go to federal court and force you to rent or sell it." Mahoney said he did not dislike Negroes; indeed, he felt that because of his straightforwardness on this matter, they would be more likely to vote for him than for the others who, he said, were dodging the issue. "I don't mean to hurt anyone," he said, "I believe even the Negro suffers when he owns a home and an undesirable comes over and says 'I would like to have your house or your apartment'."

Agnew Is a "Slob"

Mahoney is not anxious to debate his opponents, and said he "will make no platform appearances with or indulge in any other candidate" during the campaign. "As I have stated more than once," he explained, "I feel that my opponent is not any other candidate. My opponent is the state of things as they are – the problems and important issues which I propose to discuss, in my own way at the proper time, with the voters – not the candidates."

However, when reporters seek to draw the candidate out on the other issues, he becomes vague. Once he simply said, "The great body politic knows where George Mahoney stands."

In the relaxed atmosphere of a Baltimore County Democratic meeting, the candidate unveiled his true feelings about the opposition: "I wouldn't dare go on television with those two nuts," he said. Mahoney went on to describe Agnew as that "big slob" who "has never done anything in his life. I don't know how he ever got a law degree. I'm the guy from the other side of the railroad tracks."

Next to housing, Mahoney likes to talk about his lowly origins and his business career. He is the eleventh child of a Baltimore policeman. With the not inconsiderable help of his now deceased wife, he built himself up as a wealthy paving contractor. The Baltimore city paving business is said to be rigged by and divided up among the "paving ring," as the contractors are called; Mahoney swears he is not part of the gang.

Mahoney has held public office only once, in the 1940s as a member of the state racing commission. He discovered a doped horse, and is credited with putting a stop to this unsavory practice.

Mahoney's campaign managers are building him up as a rags-to-riches fellow, the little guy's guy, who worked hard, made a million, but never turned his back on the good old pals. "Your home is your castle is only PART of THE MAHONEY STORY," says a pamphlet: "When Garrett County was shut off from the rest of Maryland by winter snow and blizzards in February, 1955, George P. Mahoney, at his own expense, purchased tons of flour, potatoes and other necessities, rented trucks and got them through to the starving citizens of Garrett County.

"When a number of firemen were killed in a tragic accident in 1949, George P. Mahoney persuaded celebrities, sports figures and other luminaries to offer their services *gratis* for one of the first telethons in Baltimore. Over $250,000 was raised for the families. . . .

"George P. Mahoney owns a considerable amount of State of Israel bonds. He bought them at various times, without fanfare, and owns every one he purchased."

Mahoney's replies to questions from reporters have been so devastating that his managers keep him out of sight much of the time. He is best at small gatherings of ardent supporters. Nevertheless, a politician who knows him well says solemnly, "George P. Mahoney is a man of destiny, a legend in his own time."

Mahoney is especially strong in the Polish district of East Baltimore, and he was the featured speaker at the recent ceremonies on General Pulaski Day. This, unfortunately, took place during the last game of the World Series, but one hundred or more people had gathered anyway in Patterson Park to honor their homeland. As they stood about in little knots waiting for the event to get underway, Mahoney's car pulled up. He got out, beat it over to a garbage truck and shook hands with the two men leaning on the fender. From a distance, Mahoney's tall, slightly stooped figure reminds one of de Gaulle; and he makes the same sort of gestures with his hands at the crowds. The sound of drums and horns came from the Polish quarter, and down the street wheeled the Pulaski Brigade, followed by the youngsters of the St. Patrick's Cadets banging

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away on their drums. The parade drew up smartly before the statue of Count Pulaski, and while the different speakers bemoaned the fate of a nation still yoked by the communists, Mahoney sat on the platform waving to his supporters in the crowd, and smiling broadly when his own name sounded through the babble of Polish. When his turn came, Mahoney spoke solemnly and philosophically about the depressing international situation. Guns, ships and planes had been built, but they were no help in winning the peace. It was becoming increasingly apparent that we must return to the "simple things." People should follow the Pope's example; prayer was of great importance. "If we have peace," Mahoney thundered grandly, "we will have it with your prayers. I beg of you to pray."

"George Can Do It"

Although shut out by most of the Democratic leaders in Maryland, Mahoney has the support of James H. Pollack, the old Baltimore boss. Jack Pollack is a gentleman of the old school with a flare for the velvet touch. He was a prizefighter, liquor man, and an insurance agent for such grandees as Lloyds of London. Off and on, he manipulates the Baltimore City Council, but is said to be less interested in policy matters than in making an easy buck. He writes performance bonds for contractors, provides insurance to liquor stores, and owns part of a laundry which the city's saloons find convenient for cleaning the table linen. Like almost everything else in Baltimore, Pollack is a charming antique, an interesting study for the sociologist. Long ago Pollack put together a political organization built around some Jews' fear of Negroes moving in on them. The open-housing business is not exactly new to him. Pollack's man with Mahoney is Paul J. Reed, Jr., a roundfaced fellow with black hair slicked back. Everyone in the Democratic Party in Maryland must know Reed by now. He comes in with the deal, and, some say, returns later on with the double cross.

A few days before the Democrats held their convention in Baltimore to agree on a platform, Carlton Sickles sent Mahoney a "Dear George" letter along with a detailed set of liberal proposals (end property taxes, abate air and water pollution, improve education, etc.) he hoped the candidate would see fit to adopt. The idea was to get Mahoney to drop the castle gimmick and wrap himself in a liberal reform banner. Delegates from Montgomery and Prince Georges counties in the Washington suburbs showed up at the convention, determined to make a fight against the castle slogan. There are no rules governing the convention. Reed reportedly persuaded the Washington people to take their proposal to the resolutions committee where it could be haggled over with other proposals, and where, of course, the Mahoney forces had the votes to work their will. If Washington representatives did not like the final platform version, they could then offer amendments from the floor. This must have been intended satirically; the Mahoney people had already drafted a plank, stealing most of Sickles' plan, (excluding items such as gun control which might alienate right wing support). And square in the middle of it was the "Your home is your castle" slogan, along with a firm statement against open housing. This was promptly shoved through the committee. When the Washington delegates sought to beat it down on the floor, they were informed that the convention needed to vote on the whole platform as reported, and that only after its passage would amendments be considered. Immediately, the mob was asked its opinion of the platform; a roar of approval went up. An amendment to strike the castle slogan was whipped 138 to 45. Jack Pollack had even produced a few Negroes from his districts, who added a touch of humor by standing up and voting against open occupancy. Roy N. Staten, delegate from Baltimore County, was speaking for the whole crowd, when he said of the castle slogan, "This is a basic concept. This is as necessary as blood itself to the life of a free man." The Washington people gagged.

Then, in came Mahoney. "All the way with George," yelled the crowd. He said, "The people they know Mahoney. You all just look as beautiful as you did 20 years ago. I am so proud of you. And we're going on and on together, aren't we?" "George can do it," yelled the mob. "Yeh, George."

As it turns out, Mahoney scarcely needs Carlton Sickles' platform. His supporters have come up with a new twist on open housing. Last week the Citizens of Baltimore County for Good Government printed ingenious flyers that linked President Kennedy to Mahoney. On one side there is a picture of President Kennedy along with the message, "This man was a victim of hate." At the bottom of the sheet is a picture of Mahoney with a statement: "Our next governor's life has been threatened because of his courageous defense of your home. Will you stand with us Nov. 8?" Mahoney's office denies knowledge of the flyers, but says he has received menacing telephone calls. (So have people who attacked Mahoney in the papers.)

As for Mahoney himself, he's got a new issue. Agnew is of Greek descent, and has the support of Spyros P. Skouras, the wealthy New York movie-maker. Skouras invited Agnew to dinner in New York. Mahoney grappled with this news last week: "I think it is very important for Mr. Agnew to explain what he was doing in New York with multi-millionaires," he said.

"I'm frightened by this situation," Mahoney declared, "How much has he taken from them? Will he do anything to destroy the port of Baltimore?"

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China and Vietnam

by Ross Terrill

Washington does not have a shining record in interpreting and anticipating Peking. Truman scoffed at Attlee for doubting that the Chinese were "Kremlin satellites" and General MacArthur was surprised, despite warnings, when Peking sent 250,000 men against him in Korea. Secretary of State Rusk a bare five years ago called Peking a "colonial Russian government – a Slavic Manchukuo"; it does not pass the "first test" of being the Chinese government, he avowed: "It is not Chinese." And recently the atomic achievements of the Chinese have much surpassed Washington expectations; the Atomic Energy Commission told us, indeed, immediately after the third test on May 9 this year, that it had a yield of about 20 kilotons – only to confess, 11 days later, that the explosion was 10 times bigger.

Yet there appears to be a most confident, even complacent, near-consensus among American officials and commentators (a consensus which does not seem to extend much outside the US) on the two great questions of the moment concerning Peking. It seems to be assumed that the Chinese surely know the US will not attack them, and that Peking will not enter the Vietnam war short of that eventuality. Second, it seems to be assumed that the "cultural revolution" is significant primarily as a "power struggle," and that it is a sign of serious national weakness.

I doubt both propositions. And I believe that the "cultural revolution" is intimately related to the thinking of Peking on Vietnam.

Peking is mindful of three things, as she looks out at the USA. The US has upwards of one million men under arms outside her own borders. "Never in history," wrote the *People's Daily* last April 6, "has any aggressor so deployed his forces"; it is assuredly "not for fun," the editorial remarked, that the US is massively building up its military strength in the Asian and Pacific regions. When the world talks of a possible clash between the US and China, its eye is on Canton – not Seattle; on Vietnam – not Mexico. China has not gone whoring across the seas to seek out the US. Indeed her entire army, one of the three biggest in the world, is within her own borders.

The US is already militarily present at the gate of China: that is the actual context in which all objective remarks about "rattling swords" must be made. Peking looks about her, sees a circle of US military bases, and, by consequence, finds it impossible to be sure that Washington will not, in the heat of battle, penetrate that little bit further up the Gulf of Tonkin and attack China. And it is that "little bit" of additional penetration, after all, which generally provides the spark for the start of major wars.

Who can say when the Vietnam war began? Look back over US statements of the last two years: an insistent theme is – in the words of the President – "we seek no wider war." Yet wider war is what we have got, almost month by month. How can Peking be sure that Washington will not "stumble" into a still wider war?

Peking is mindful that twice already, in the last two decades, she has directly or indirectly fought the US. She believes that both the last phase of the struggle against Chiang Kai-shek (1946-49) and the Korean war indicate that the anti-communist commitment of Washington in Asia is no empty rhetoric. In the Far East, Peking has said, "the Chinese people and US imperialism are not new acquaintances."

The result of previous acquaintance, in the mind of Peking, is a solid realism about the American threat, coupled with a solid confidence that Chinese forces did rather well on both occasions and can do even better in the more favorable circumstances of the 1960s. During the Gulf of Tonkin clashes in August, 1964, I observed at first hand some Chinese reactions in Peking and Canton. After conversations with officials I noted "cheerful pessimism" as the dominant Chinese attitude to the US threat. "Pessimism" since they thought an attack quite probable sooner or later; "cheerful" since they were convinced they could absorb and defeat as many men as Washington cared to throw against China.

Peking points out that US air intrusions and small attacks have been taking place for years. More than 320 "serious warnings" have now been given about air intrusions, and more than 360 about sea intrusions, since the "serious warnings" began to be issued in 1958. Again and again Washington has either ignored or denied a Peking charge, only (very quietly) to give the impression later that the charge "may have been correct." The most recent charges came last month, involving air attacks on September 5 and 9, and an air intrusion on September 17. Mr. Rusk at first tossed it all off with the remark that he had "no information to confirm" the charge. According to pattern, however,

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the State Department, in response to persistent enquiries, said on September 19 that there was "a possibility that some inadvertent intrusions of Communist China may have taken place."

All the talk about exchanging scholars, journalists, doctors, amounts to nothing, in the view of Peking, when the supremely important question of the national security of China seems to be trifled with by the US. The offer of visits from professors is not going to convince the Chinese of the peaceful intentions of Washington when the constant presence of the Seventh Fleet and regular intrusions convince them of the opposite.

In US thinking, the "China problem" centers upon the bellicose attitude of Peking. "The Peking regime," says a publication of the Foreign Policy Association, "has been rattling its sword at the US almost continuously for 15 years." For many commentators outside the US, however, the "China problem" centers upon the question, "Will the US attack China?" They feel it is of less moment that Peking rattles her sword than that Washington actually draws *her* sword – and on the doorstep, even over the threshold of China.

The flaring up of the Vietnam war in the past two years has heightened the Chinese expectation of an American attack. It is in this context that the Cultural Revolution (CR) makes sense. Recently a specialist on China at a major US university was asked for an interpretation of the CR. "Sheer insanity" was the reply. Mindful of the canny, pragmatic, successful record of the Chinese leadership, one is persuaded to seek a more rational explanation. The evidence is that China's national interest in the face of the expanded Vietnam war is the key determinant of the CR.

I do not suggest that the CR is to be understood *only* in terms of present international considerations.

Yet it does seem that the primary reason for the CR, and for its timing, is probably the escalation of the war in Vietnam. February 7, 1965 brought a start to the US air attacks on North Vietnam, and thereafter it seems that Peking reconsidered the possibilities of war with the US. Last October the Chinese Foreign Minister, Marshal Chen Yi, declared: "China is ready. She has made all necessary preparations." One element in these preparations was, it seems, to set to one side announced economic and scientific projects. The National Congress was specifically told in December, 1964 that early 1965 would see a great public debate on the third five-year plan; it has never eventuated. In September came the celebrated work of Lin Piao, *Long Live the Victory of People's War*, which is as gravely serious in its treatment of "US imperialism" as it is confident of the capacity of people's war to repulse it. The work has leaped into the limelight in the US as a bold plan for world revolution. In a sense it is that, but it is suffused with overtones of the Vietnam war: it is much more a response to the widening war, than a new plan "from scratch" to achieve new goals. It also gives strong stress to the political role of the army, which Lin has done much to revivify, and this stress – notably at the fourth General Political Department conference of the army in December-January, 1965-66 – has proved to be the springboard for the CR.

We have recently learned that in September, 1965 there was a Central Committee meeting of considerable importance. After it – which meant just after a new intensification of the Vietnam war – the statements on Vietnam toughened, as was evident in the October press conference of Chen Yi just cited. Peking's reference to the September, 1965 CC meeting, just two months ago, was, significantly, in the context of telling the unfolding story of the CR. After the meeting there was launched the purge of undesirables and unreliables which has, with pauses, continued ever since, in pace with the hardening line on Vietnam, and the increasing exaltation of the army as the logical bond between the two developments. China was marching into war communism.

Understandably, the army has been given more and more prominence as 1966 progresses. The evidence for this lies on every hand, and has been widely commented upon. The high-point so far, perhaps, was the rally of one million people on August 18. Mao appeared in an ordinary soldier's uniform, and was given a new title, "Supreme Commander"; Lin Piao was extravagantly paraded; and the army was described as "a great school, to be imitated by all Chinese."

Significance of the Red Guards

US commentaries insist on regarding the CR simply as a purge. *Problems of Communism*, for example, in its September-October issue, writes editorially of "the massive purge currently sweeping Communist China in the guise of a great proletarian cultural revolution." But Chinese statements have made it clear that the CR is related to Vietnam. It is "aimed at safeguarding the dictatorship of the proletariat," *Shinhua* said on June 11. "Imperialism and modern revisionism seek to subvert the political power of the proletariat both by the force of arms and by cultural infiltration and ideological poisoning." Chen Yi told a visiting Japanese Liberal-Democratic Party delegation on September 6, "The main aim of the present cultural revolution is to consolidate the domestic structure in preparation for the worst situation."

It is nothing so personal as the (supposed) imminent

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death of Mao, or so abstract and clinical as a pure "power struggle" that has precipitated the CR, with its summer climax in the Red Guards. It is rather that the Chinese leaders, however strange and unjustified it appears to Americans, regard it as highly likely that the leader of the free world, across the vastness of the Pacific Ocean, and against all his professions, will escalate into a serious attack the nibbling intrusions and attacks upon China that have been made, without apology and with increasing regularity, in recent years.

"Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards" *Wen Hui Bao* of Shanghai reminded its readers on May 10. The CR is aimed to shore up the heroism of Chinese citizens ready for the onslaughts of the tigers and leopards of imperialism. They expected the attack on North Vietnam: in China during August, 1964 I heard it predicted by well-informed people that the US would soon strike north of the seventeenth parallel. Now they expect the next phase of escalation, and they gird their loins for it.

In Anticipation of War

The CR has brought new and sharper outrages against the USSR; an especially nasty incident, which evoked a "resolute protest" from the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Peking refused to accept it) took place on August 22, when the Soviet chargé d'affaires was detained and humiliated outside the Soviet Embassy in Peking. Why is this? Once the Moscow approach to the Vietnam war was rejected by the Chinese – and from early 1965 this rejection was increasingly obvious – it was politically necessary for Peking further to discredit the Russians in the eyes of the Chinese people. Otherwise doubts and hesitations as to the wisdom of Peking's uncompromising line would serve to weaken the ranks.

The issue is nothing less than the readiness to throw oneself wholeheartedly against the US – should Washington escalate beyond a certain point in Vietnam – and the conviction as to whether or not Asian communism could defeat the US in such a terrible encounter. Peking is ready. Not only that, she is extremely confident. Moscow equivocates, unwilling to follow the logic of revolutionary warfare to its denouement.

"If the Americans invade China," a young Chinese recently remarked to a foreigner, "we shall help make the revolution by the way we handle their troops." This remark highlighted a further aspect in the Chinese expectation of war. Their ideology – and here one notes their distance from the Russians – bestows upon them a supreme confidence that American society will itself be the chief casualty in a China-US war. "US imperialism is doomed," they cry. They have observed that wars do tend to put an end to certain social patterns and systems. The first world war hastened the end of the feudal monarchies of Europe; the second made impossible the continuance for very much longer of the British, French, and Dutch empires in Asia, and by indirect effect, in Africa. The next outmoded system to bite the dust, as Peking reads the barometer of history, is US imperialism. The deeper it gets embedded in Vietnam the more rapid and complete will its demise be. This is truly believed by the Chinese communists, and it explains the note of giddy ideological excess in the symphony of strange contrasts that is the CR. "If Johnson escalates," a Chinese said to Professor Staughton Lynd in Peking, "he will save China from revisionism. My generation was asked: 'How can we bring Chiang back to show the younger generation what the revolution was?' Now Johnson will teach our younger generation."

Here is the bridge that ideology builds between domestic and foreign policies – expressed at its most acute. Here we see how it is possible for the Chinese to combine, in their present behavior, an expectation of US attack, on the one hand, and a phase of social and revolutionary boldness, on the other hand.

There is no reason to think that Peking will initiate a war with the US; and many good reasons to think it will not. Reports in the US which do refer to war preparation in China (and they are few) fail to distinguish between expectation of a war, and intention to start a war. The *Boston Globe*, September 26, reports the opinion of former Japanese Foreign Minister Kosaka as he arrived in Hong Kong from China, that the CR was part of a preparation, "for the worst eventuality – world war." The report is headed "Is China Planning War?" Such a heading betrays a dangerous confusion.

But the question necessarily arises, if China is girding her loins for war, how near is she to throwing her strength into the ring?

In Saigon and Washington few seem worried that Peking may at last stir herself, armed no longer just with the breastplate of righteousness, but with the formidable skill of the people's army. In Saigon last year, among US Embassy officials and Vietnamese cabinet members alike, I found a splendid insulation from the rest of the world's anxiety about what a China-US war could mean. It was often said in private, and since then Ky has said it in public, that the war will not be won without an attack on China.

In Washington, on the other hand, weighty global considerations are given full attention. Yet the American official mind is so sure that the Chinese leadership has feet of clay (it regards Chiang Kai-shek, after all, as the president of not only Taiwan but all China), and, in particular, so sure that the present CR is a sign of chaos and uncertainty, based primarily upon a personal battle for the succession, that the possibility of Chinese

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intervention is discounted to an astonishing degree.

The pamphlet of Lin Piao is cursed as "aggressive." Yet when it comes to a particular war, that in Vietnam, and the actual national interests of China, few ponder what options Peking has, or what practical action her convictions would naturally lead her to. We are told day by day that she is bent upon "world revolution." But we are apparently expected to believe either that Vietnam is not of vital concern to her, or that she is daunted to the point of paralysis by the military might of the US. Or perhaps it is simply that Washington, and the American electorate, feel satisfied that China has no *right* to intervene, and the moral argument, after a while, is allowed to take the place of an empirical one.

Washington seems to take insufficient account of the toughening line on the war which has come from Peking in the last two years. In January, 1965, Mao told Edgar Snow it was still possible to hold an international conference on the basis of the Geneva accords, without prior withdrawal of US forces from Vietnam. But in July this year, after the first bombing of the outskirts of Hanoi and Haiphong, Peking declared that US actions have so outraged the accords that they now are a dead letter (*Hsinhua*, July 22). For people who take the accords seriously, and in Vietnam many people do, this is a vital change in the position of Peking.

Another new theme, this past summer, is that the war against the US now has "no bounds" (*People's Daily*, July 5). "The vast expanse of our country," wrote the same paper on July 18, "is the rear area of the Vietnamese people." Thailand, too, it has been clearly said, has by its hospitality to vastly increased US facilities this year, "linked" itself up with the "Vietnam battlefield" (*Peking Review*, May 20).

Korea and Vietnam

The analogy with Korea warrants attention. Peking has many more links and involvements with North Vietnam than she had in 1950 with Kim Il Sung in Korea (whom she considered a tool of the Soviets). There was not even a Chinese ambassador at Pyongyang. By contrast, the struggle between Moscow and Peking for the loyalty of Hanoi has been so keen and constant that Vietnamese loyalty is evidently a great prize. Moreover, Peking is incomparably better placed to fight than she was in 1950, when the revolution was a mere infant of less than one year. Weak and burdened with domestic tasks if ever a nation was, she nonetheless took on the world's number-one atomic power. There was, then, the further disadvantage, primarily a political one, that China was launching herself against US strength which was robed in the authority and prestige of a United Nations force.

In 1966 circumstances are far more favorable to Peking. Sixteen years of intense, regimented effort has consolidated her revolution, and brought much economic progress, symbolized militarily by the development of a nuclear weapon. No more is there talk (except where it is indulged in for political reasons) of India and China running neck and neck for the success stakes of Asia. The enormous Chinese army has an enviable record in the same kind of war that is now taking place in Vietnam. "But they are scared of our nuclear weapons," Americans have said. No doubt they are, but it did not stop them entering the Korean war, and now, unlike in 1950, Moscow has a nuclear capacity that is considered sufficient, by most analysts, to deter Washington from using nuclear weapons in most conceivable situations.

But in this situation, it is asked, "would Moscow have the appetite to come to the aid of Peking?" No one can be sure, but diplomats from the communist bloc, both Asian and European, have in recent weeks privately stressed the following considerations. It is not true that Moscow is dragging her feet in the Vietnam war. Certainly it embarrasses her, and she would like to see it ended by negotiation tomorrow. But her present policy has the virtue of providing great military assistance to Hanoi, while at the same time preserving the vital political advantage of allowing the war to remain one between "weak, small, poor North Vietnam" and "strong, big, rich USA." This advantage would be lost if she intervened more actively, as would the racial overtones which increasingly creep into the comments of third-world critics of the US.

The National Liberation Front is in fact doing very well. The US for all its bombs gains no more territory. For all its insistence on dead Viet Cong as the measure of success, US casualties are sharply rising; for the last week in September, US casualties (967) were a record, and, most significantly, they were over twice the number of South Vietnamese casualties (459) despite the fact that US units number only 315,000 compared with 705,000 South Vietnamese. The bombing of the North has failed to achieve its twin stated objects of reducing the infiltration and bringing Hanoi to its knees. North Vietnam has so far committed but a fraction of its army to the battle, so what need is there of the Soviet army?

The USSR, these sources continue, is really doing all that seems necessary for the Vietnamese. It is the *means* employed which deceive Americans into the conclusion that Russia is on the sidelines. In fact Russia is firmly committed to preventing the defeat of Hanoi and the NLF, and if things should start to go very badly, the Soviet Union would certainly alter the means employed, and intervene directly.

Regarding China, rather similar considerations are in the mind of Moscow, which knows the strength of the Chinese army, and does not doubt that the US would get into one hell of a mess in any tangle with Lin Piao's

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men. The presence of Moscow's nuclear arsenal would serve to keep the US-China war a conventional one. So the USSR could play the most desirable of all roles in such an ugly eventuality: remain largely on the sidelines, *yet* exercise a deterrent on the war becoming a world war or a nuclear war. The USSR could prevent the defeat of China by keeping the war conventional.

Does the USSR want to prevent the defeat of China? These sources are adamant. For Moscow to allow China to be beaten (and defeat of China would mean almost the destruction of China) would be to forfeit all credibility, not only among the Angry Young Lands, for whom the USSR remains some sort of symbol of revolutionary success, but for humanists and moderates everywhere who expect a great power to keep sufficient balance in the world to prevent nuclear destruction. The Soviet Union would be revealed as a paper bear. Furthermore, the US, fresh from the defeat of China, would have a ranking, in the great power ladder, incomparably higher than the USSR, and higher even than at present. There are many restraints Moscow could heartily wish upon Peking, but the heavy hand of US imperialism is not one of them.

What Might Trigger Intervention

These arguments – old as they may seem in Washington – are convincing to many diplomats and observers in close touch with Peking. They perhaps explain why the present mood in China is far from passive or pessimistic. A war with the US is by no means unthinkable to the Chinese. Nor does it strike terror in their hearts (some of the more timid in this matter have been purged, as part of the CR). The army is being politicised to the point of saturation.

The Chinese believe that this is a winning card in any confrontation with the US. They speak of "patience" and struggles which may go on for decades, "even centuries"; it is no jest for Chinese, especially Chinese communists, to speak in this fashion. But could Washington sustain a very long war, they ask themselves, especially one conducted at such distance from the home base? The Korean war became a political liability after less than three years, the Vietnam war begins to show signs of becoming a political liability. The democratic processes and the pluralist mentality of the US make heroic, protracted, costly wars extremely difficult.

The Chinese communists do not put the matter in such gentle words, but, in their own theological fashion, that is what officials argued to me in Peking. Their own society, they add, feeds upon struggle. It fed upon the war against the Japanese, upon the Korean war, and will do so even more ravenously (since "our generation is given by history the task of eliminating imperialism from the world") in any full-scale war against the US that may arise out of the present fighting in Vietnam.

At what point will the Chinese come into a Vietnamese war that continues to escalate at the geometric rate of the last two years? There is no answer to this question, but we may do well to weigh two points. The *People's Daily* of July 5 spoke clearly about the significance, to Peking, of the continued escalation. "Since by your aggressive acts of war you have destroyed the bounds of the war," it pointed out to Washington, "all the countries and people that genuinely support the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against US aggression have also ceased to be subject to restrictions." The editorial continued: "It is not up to you to decide how the war should be fought next. Since you have come from the skies and the sea, why can't others fight back on the ground?"

In the light of this attitude of Peking, solemnly reiterated in recent weeks, it hardly seems realistic to feel confident that China will come in only when its own territory is massively violated. Nor indeed, in the light of the geographical facts (Hanoi is closer to Canton than Washington is to Chicago, and closer to Kunming than New York is to Detroit) does it seem reasonable to expect China to feel gravely threatened only when its own territory is massively violated. Other big powers do not make a habit of regarding their own frontiers as their front lines of defense.

If it is correct that Moscow and Peking have not intervened directly because the war is going quite well for the NLF and Hanoi, the prospects for intervention (one thinks primarily of Peking) hinge upon the fate of the Hanoi regime. The determinant of intervention, in this view, is not the violation of Chinese territory, but whether or not Hanoi can withstand US attacks. Peking is committed irrevocably to Hanoi: that we cannot possibly doubt after all that has been said. So far, however, China and apparently the Vietnamese as well, judge that direct intervention is as yet unnecessary.

It will become necessary if the NLF and/or Hanoi seem in any danger of collapsing. "To save our neighbor is to save ourselves," Peking declared on November 4, 1950, when intervening in Korea. The doctrine has now been applied to Vietnam. The criterion for intervention is not a merely geographic and legal one, any more than it was for Washington when the US decided to bomb North Vietnam, but a political and tactical one. Chairman Mao Tse-tung will carefully and prudently choose his means of defending revolution, just as President Johnson carefully and prudently chooses his "measured and limited" means of defeating revolution.

Should Hanoi's resistance falter, or should China be attacked – her airfields, or even the merest fringe of her territory as in the case of Korea – we must expect Chinese military intervention.

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STANLEY KAUFFMANN *Toujours Tristesse*

Poor old Françoise Sagan. Just one more old-fashioned old-timer, bypassed in the rush for the latest literary vogue and for youth. Superficially, her career in America resembles the life-span of those medieval beauties who flowered at 14, were deflowered at 15, were old at 30 and crones at 40. Miss Sagan is now only 31, but the publication of her latest novel is almost like the return appearance of an elderly actress who was a sensation as an ingenue.

It was back there in 1954, when she was 19, that she published her first novel, *Bonjour Tristesse*, which was a literary sensation and a commercial success and which launched her well on the way to obscurity with serious critics. For, although her first book was astonishingly precocious, it dealt with relatively conventional materials of "French" sexual intrigue and it showed no slightest concern with new form. Her technique was close to that of the classic *nouvelle*, which Larousse defines as a short novel based on a recent incident. In an age of French literature where the philosophically rich fiction of Camus and Sartre and Mauriac was succeeded by the formal innovations of the New and the Anti Novel, there was not much left for Miss Sagan but popular success.

This is not an attempt to treat her as a neglected genius; still, after reading *La Chamade**, I can agree with Brigid Brophy who, as usual, uses language precisely when she says: "Sagan is the most underestimated presence in postwar French writing." Underestimation is not to be replaced by overestimation. Miss Sagan is an accomplished entertainer of the particular reader. This is an ancient and honorable profession.

If that reader does not understand the title, he can be easy – neither does the heroine. ("What is a *chamade*, exactly?" "You'll have to look it up in the dictionary," he said. "I haven't time to explain now.") It means in fact "a roll of drums by which the inhabitants of a besieged city acknowledged their defeat. Sometimes used to signify the wild beating of the human heart." The story deals with a young woman who is the mistress of a middle-aged rich man and who leaves him for an affair with a poor young man. The wildness of the affair obliterates the tranquillity of her former liaison. But in time the *chamade* dies away, and the patient, sagacious older man gets his reward.

Thus it is clear that Miss Sagan has not shifted her ground or broadened her interests. She is still a player of boudoir chess, employing differing gambits, combinations and endgames within a restricted field. (At the moment she has a new play running in Paris which deals with a similar chess-game of amorous intrigue and is preceded by her curtain-raiser on the same subject.) But what lifts her above the merely clever romancer or vendor of glossy sensation are her extraordinary skill and – within a narrow range – her concern with emotional truth.

Parodies of Miss Sagan did not lag far behind her debut, and she is still supplying the parodists with material. (The heroine thinks: "If she were not so happy to be alive, she would have killed herself.") The *tristesse* that the heroine welcomed at the end of Miss Sagan's first novel and that persists through her books still has about it some smack of literary attitude; but this (which the parodists forget) does not mean it is untrue. To live in a literary attitude, to filter experience through a spectrum of assumptions, is no less life than to live on a direct simple confrontation of experience; and the former doubtless reflects Miss Sagan's milieu more accurately than the latter. One definition of modern consciousness is that the sensitive person selects a character to play, out of wish or necessity or frustration or self-defense. The heroine in this new book thinks: "If the play in which she was now acting was acceptable, useful, it was her part that was badly written." Possibly this awareness of daily living as show biz is as valid an artistic exponent of contemporary life, when well executed, as the modes of Sarraute or Robbe-Grillet.

What matters, finally, is that within her little framework Miss Sagan is always interesting and sometimes moving. There is a passage of panic when the girl arrives to find her lover's apartment empty that epitomizes the crazy fantastications of the waiting lover who really has nothing to worry about. Within that framework she depicts credibly the initiation, swell, and dissolution of love between people who are bruised but still susceptible veterans of the cycle.

And, within that framework of *tristesse*, she can also be funny. "She had worked for a small paper, the kind that pretended to be Leftist in order to pay its employees badly." Or, commenting on a heavy meal in a cheap restaurant: "You'd think only the rich had a right to light meals."

Her characters, in order to have the freedom to concentrate on Venus, are (again) rich or parasitic on the rich or else manage their jobs with admirable airiness. The poor young lover is a publisher's reader; nevertheless, at one point he spends fifteen days mooning about and then goes on a sudden trip, all with a disregard for his job that would enchant an American publisher. (And soon afterward, the young man has a month's holiday!) Apart from the dubious reality of the world outside the bedroom and salon, none of the characters is in any way original in perception or execution: the understanding older man, the wealthy older woman who quite calmly uses her money with men as she would once have used her beauty, the impetuous lover; but their conventionality, when they are handled with Miss Sagan's skill, is almost welcome – as if they were characters in the Commedia dell'Arte taking up previously prepared roles in fresh adventures. At any rate, as in other Sagan works, they exist only as supporting players for the heroine, whose emotional pilgrimage is the book's real subject. In the first novel she was 17; here she is in her early 30's. Autobiographical inferences are always uncalled for and always irresistible.

Once started, Miss Sagan's books are difficult not to read, and the very fact that they consume no more than two hours heightens their resemblance to

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* *La Chamade*, by Francoise Sagan (Dutton; $3.95)

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The Relevance of Professor Dewey

by Joseph Featherstone

Question: Professor Dewey, I've been reading the lectures you gave at the University of Chicago in 1898, now republished, and I'd like to ask some questions, if that's all right.

Dewey: Yes, although I was pretty surprised to hear that anybody was interested in reissuing them. They're all about some educational theorists who are mercifully forgotten, and, as I recall, the prose style isn't my best.

Lectures in the Philosophy of Education
by John Dewey
(Random House; $7.50)

Q: Random House thought they were worth publishing because they give a good idea of what was inside your mind at the turn of the century.

D: I suppose they might be valuable that way. The students certainly thought they were dull. They stayed away in droves. That's why those stenographic copies exist, you know, I had some enterprising student make them up and he used to sell them to the people who never came. It was all right with me.

Q: Surely some students were interested in listening to you work through all these issues.

D: A few seemed to appreciate that I was, as you say, working through all these matters in my own mind. But a lot of the students who came were just – what is the word? – compulsives, mindless products of the education system I was trying to destroy. All that stupid rote learning. Mr. Dooley put the matter very well: "It don't make much difference what you study so long as you don't like it."

Q: Could I ask why people like yourself got interested in social and educational reform?

D: In those days we were looking for self-fulfillment on some terms other than those offered by the Gilded Age. The young men and women of the genteel classes felt smothered, as though they'd been raised in a bell-jar. There was, as my friend Jane Addams said, a subjective necessity for social work, but I think the movement added up to something more than the sum of the neuroses of the individual reformers. Anybody who walked the city streets could see that there was what a Marxist would call an objective problem: we didn't invent the rotten education system or the slums, they weren't just fancies on our part. We were calling into question the quality of life in the American culture, and one part of the general indictment was that we felt deprived, too. The genteel culture offered only a splintered, lifeless existence, and it left me, as I once wrote, with an intense emotional craving for unity. All the prissy schoolmarm stuff that I attacked was just part of the whole terrible failure, a way of life built on the sands of untenable dualisms, where thought had no relation to action and literature no relation to life. Teddy Roosevelt wanted to bring life back to the country, although I always thought he was a bit of a fraud. I wanted it in the classroom. This generation was going to free itself from dead forms, the bric-a-brac of our parents' houses. We were only going to accept forms that were living expressions of living functions. Take something central to my thinking, my reverence for experience. If you looked at it in historical terms, you could say that it represented a mixture of older Protestant piety and aestheticism. To me experience is sacred and beautiful, in a religious sense.

Q: Emerson had a faith in natural experience, too. What's the difference between you and Emerson?

D: What puts light-years between us is that for me natural experience is social, shared human transactions, whereas for Emerson it was a private relation between himself and the Over-Soul. America had gone from the Concord woods to city crowds by my day, and so of course our conceptions of things became more social.

Q: How does this fit in with your ideas on education?

D: Education was growth towards more and better experience, which meant more conscious participation in the life of society. The expansion of a person's capacity for more shared social experience was as close as I ever got to an absolute, I guess, something that was the highest good, although you know my position on the Absolute.

Q: For you this idea of education as growth meant growth towards social experience, but for a lot of your followers it came to mean something different. They took the metaphor of education as growth to mean that the child's interests were to be served as opposed to those of society, that his interests should determine the content of education, which is pretty silly when you think about it. As though a child's interests aren't to some extend shaped by adults. Is this misinterpretation your fault or theirs?

D: Partly mine. I was a polemicist, you see, and like most reformers I was reluctant to see educational institutions as a meeting ground of different generations, where the young learn some of the enduring features of the world they will inherit and pass on. I never gave much credit to the older generation – that's temperamental. There were so many stable features of the world I wanted to see razed; I thought that adult authority in the schools was so badly abused that it was best to say nothing in defense of the enemy's definition of himself.

Q: Some people think there's been a terrific decline in adult authority since your time. And some worry about the authority of what the sociologists in their horrible jargon call the peer-group.

D: Don't be finicky about stylistic

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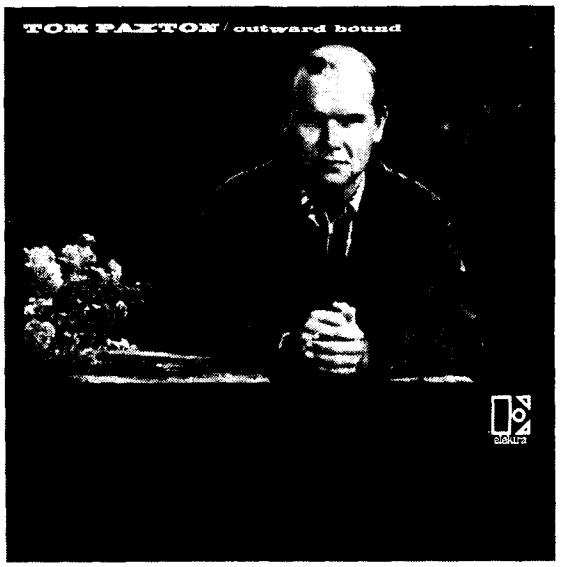

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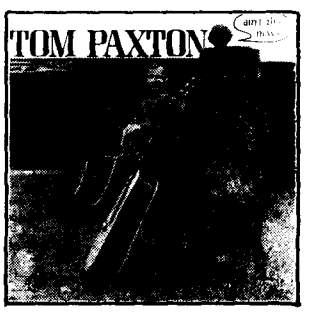

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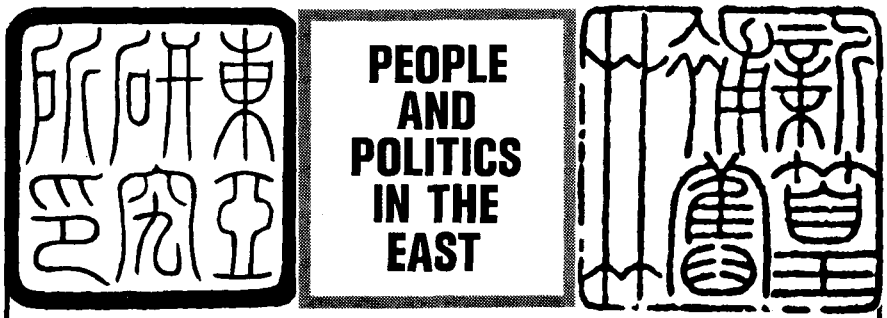

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matters. Peer-group is a useful term.

Q: Don't you think that what seems superfluous to a collective organization may be a deep inner necessity to a single man or child?

D: I'm inclined to agree. It's a question of emphasis. Even artistic genius is a social matter, but I'm quite prepared to give the individual support against coercive pressures from groups, whether they be children or adults. Towards the end of my life I began to see how important this social oppression was, but in my earlier days – don't forget I was born in 1859 – the word "individual" meant to me a Rockefeller or a Vanderbilt, some anti-social bandit who was plundering the country. I was trying to make cooperative citizens out of an industrial nation doped on the drug of "rugged individualism," a battle that still has to be fought. That man Goldwater is a good example. Why, he talks as though he made his living as a backwoodsman, when in fact I discover that he was in the department-store business. What could be less individualistic than a great big department store? What I never guessed in the old days was how powerful a hold these individualistic myths had on American culture. I agree with you about conformity, but you can't just turn away from the social facts.

Q: In these lectures you are on the verge of the formulation you made in 1916 in *Democracy and Education.*

D: Yes, education was growth, democracy was the growth of everyone. Democracy is the supreme form of education, for it represents to me the faith that human experience, if shared, will generate the means by which further experiences will grow in ordered richness. At the time of those lectures, though I must say I grew a bit skeptical later, the schools were going to be the centers of democratic reform, the "continuous reconstruction of the community's experience." They were going to remold outdated thoughts and habits and in doing so they were going to bind men together in a sprawling federal, polyglot, society, badly divided by ethnic hatreds and rumors of class warfare. The schools were going to reconstruct a new community, in which the sanctity of the

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individual would no longer depend on some hoary old metaphysical abstractions blocking social progress; instead, the sanctity of the individual would reflect his potential for growth and self-expression in a community of experience that everybody would share.

Q: The importance of your ideal of social community comes through clearly in these lectures, especially in your rather surprising comments on the science curriculum. You said for example that "the educational value of science has been in bringing to consciousness a knowledge of the materials by which social life is conditioned, and a knowledge of the processess . . . through which social life is maintained. . . . Science is the knowledge of the natural medium or environment through which social life exists. . . ." But though you talked about the pursuit of knowledge and its application to the social good, and you sometimes mentioned Bacon or Newton, did you really know much about science? Your whole career was spent seeking a common method of morals and science, but in the process you'd already bootlegged a great deal of morality into what you call science. You talked as though science – the play of facts and the imagination – would lead to morally correct decisions, as though facts could somehow arrange themselves into values.

D: Eventually I think I thought of science as the process of public debate and discussion, that's true, and I did assume that the cause of science and the cause of democratic reform were one and the same. I still maintain that science, like everything else we do, is social in its very nature. As for facts and values, I don't really think there is a distinction, but we could spend hours on the point. I must apologize for one thing while we're on the subject of science. The cult of educational research is partly my fault. All these studies pretending to show this and that have had the terrible effect of making teachers distrust their own first-hand experience, and I'm full of remorse about that. The idea that if you play around with a lot of data – never caring for the quality or the kind of data – that you'll somehow come out with a more scientific answer, that's a real superstition, and it's become the curse of education. Years ago William James pointed out that there were too many variables in most classroom situations for really rigorous scientific research. And as for psychology, well, pseudo-precision was valued over common sense in my day, but I'm sure things have improved now.

Q: I'm interested in your grand community of experience, because it's always seemed to me that this vision in books like *Art As Experience* was truly compelling, whereas the means you chose to further it were often inadequate and sometimes foolish.

D: We work with what we have. My concern always was total – for the quality of life – and maybe there was a gap between my ends and my means, although, as you know, I'm not fond of the distinction betweens ends and means.

Q: I'm thinking about educators always promising that the newest thing – teaching about the postman or whatever – will lead to fulfilled experiences. There are already humorless signs in your lectures that trivial or even harmful means could be justified in the name of some grand democratic end they were supposed to promote.

D: Yes, I know what you mean. Education towards shared experience could easily become adjustment to repressive conformity. My idea was always to further the interests of the poor and the alien, but the means could be questionable, and even sinister, I agree.

Q: Adjustment was such a dangerous phrase, because it involved adjusting outsiders to a social order that despised them. One trouble was that the community of interests and experiences that you envisioned was an ideal to be attained, not a reality, as you yourself said in *The Public and Its Problems*. But your specific reform proposals often assumed – in good liberal manner – that such a community already existed.

D: I'm a patriot, you know, and I've always believed perhaps a bit too easily that Americans have more things to unite than divide them. I know my ideas could be used to oppress outside groups and enforce conformity, and I know, too, what a dreary horde of

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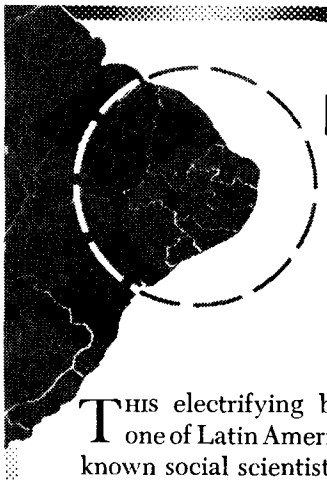

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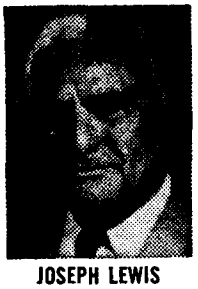

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non-subjects the ideal of training for citizenship introduced into the schools. But don't stop with that, or you'd miss the depth of aspiration behind the ideal of the community-minded school. True, the sort of education I advocated was mainly appropriate to an immigrant society where few went on to college, and that's changed now, to some extent. But the ideal was still right. The ideal was to fit the average man for citizenship so that he would enter mature life on an equal footing with every other American. I sometimes sense that people nowadays have lost faith in equality, and that educators and university people are interested in raising up a technological elite, a – what's the word? – meritocracy. I'm prepared to see today's school give more attention to strictly intellectual matters than in my time, because, despite what anybody might say, I'm not anti-intellectual, and I believe that the most egalitarian thing you can do for somebody is to teach him how to think – which I gather is the aim of the best of the new curriculum reforms in science, math, and the social studies. I don't wish to seem immodest, but in these lectures I advocated a lot of ideas similar to what you call the new math and I urged teaching social studies in some analytic way rather than using old textbooks with a lot of names and dates, the sorry old rag and bone shop of the history texts. But the point is to build a democracy.

Q. If you were giving a set of similar lectures today, what would you say?

D: I'm not well-informed, but I think I'd say something like this. My generation was too optimistic and we thought all these democratic things would come easily and rather mechanically. You people have read Freud, instead of me, and your historical sense is a product of a terrible age, so where we were complacent in our optimism you're complacent in your pessimism. What bothers me about your New Radicals is how much of their thinking is slogans and second-hand ideas like "the power structure." A lot of good piecemeal things are going on, but few people have thought out for your time what constitutes a valid life, what is the point of your strivings. You need, if I may say so without special pleading, a philoso-

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phy. And what your philosophy has to challenge is the mindless drift of the country, which is no less a drift for all your research grants, computers and technicians. Your philosophy has to urge a way of life based on human needs, and it must refuse to let the country be run in the name of great empty abstractions like anti-communism or progress or power. It seems to me that these abstractions, like the metaphysical dogmas of my day, are symptoms of a great disorder, a sign of a society no longer quite in touch with real things and real people. One lesson of my generation of reform is that, together with a vision, you need great care about your techniques. I'm sorry that I wasn't able to stick with my Laboratory School in Chicago, which would have made me more sensible about means, I suspect. I'd finish by saying that one thing seems to me to stand in the way of visionary educational and social reform which is, quite simply, a colossal failure of imagination, an inability to see that things could be different from the way they are.

Q: Thanks very much, Professor Dewey. Would you like to add anything?

D: Yes. Shortly before my death I got a postcard from Texas that said, "This is just to tell you, Mr. Dewey, that you're going straight to hell." It wasn't so.

Woodrow Wilson's Pious Youth

by Jonathan Daniels

"Woodrow Wilson rarely threw anything away."

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The promise is set out on the first pages of this collection which will run to some forty volumes. In a foreword to this and all the subsequent volumes, that assurance is given by Raymond Fosdick, Wilson's longtime admirer and one of the initiators of this important publishing project.

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson
Volume I – 1856-1880
edited by Arthur S. Link and others
(Princeton; $15)

"It is the vision of the past that makes the present liveable," he wrote, "and no era should be prevented from learning its secrets. . . . With the passage of years privacy becomes at best a relative term. There is a kind of statute of limitations which, after a reasonable period, allows us to unlock the secrecies and intimacies of a given generation without embarrassment or lack of taste. We are not shut off from the richness of the past because of modesty or a sense of appropriateness which, however valid at the time, has probably outlived its relevancy and meaning."

Obviously this will be no stuffy selection of solemn state papers only. Of course, the significant articles and speeches of the author, educator and statesman will be presented. But as this volume perhaps particularly reveals, Arthur Link and his associates in editorship intend to seek and present not only the public pronouncements but the "secrecies and intimacies" which shaped the man who in both majestic and tragic measure helped shape his times.

Some indication of the editor's diligence and determination in discovery of the essential Wilson is shown by the deciphering of the diaries and other papers which as a youth he kept in Graham shorthand. No such lively hidden life is revealed in Wilson's records as that found when somewhat similar shorthand diaries kept by Samuel Pepys were deciphered. Young Wilson used shorthand for convenience, not concealment.

Wilson as stenographer, scribbler, later as his own typist, himself kept the record for the history in which he could not have dreamed he would play so great a role. Some of it makes him appear as the almost painfully pious son of Presbyterian parents in a parsonage where money was some-

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times hard to get from a neglectful congregation. Yet there is an exuberant adventurousness in young Thomas Woodrow's written dreams of himself as a British sea lord, naval captain and ocean argonaut. Even such fantasies were set down in precise, informed detail.

From boyhood through college, the documentation of his actual life describes not only his own ideas and attitudes, habits and behavior but also provides a delineation of those of other post-Civil War young men, South and North. As the later prophet and defender of democracy, some of the young student's prejudices are startling: "Universal suffrage is the foundation of every evil in this country." Surprising, too, at least to me, was the evidence of how little of American literature and history went into his education in comparison to the emphasis upon English and ancient politics and culture.

Despite the materials showing his ability as orator and his readiness for debate, the letters and reports of this period seem to point Wilson toward the cloister rather than political combat. His youthful contact with Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, who as junior editor of the *International Review*, accepted his article on Cabinet Government in 1879, was the remote relationship of two young academicians. Nothing in either of them then suggested that they might become titans in conflict over the League of Nations. Unfortunately, the actual correspondence between these two men, as is indicated by its absence here, is not still extant. Lodge's "note" to Wilson about the article is only mentioned in these pages by the young Southerner's proud father, Rev. Joseph Ruggles Wilson.

Indeed, save for his seafaring day dreams, there seemed little suggestion of Wilson as a man ready and fated for combat. His reports of tumult between freshmen and sophomores, and students and town boys (called "snobs" at Princeton) rather suggest that he was never at the center of any fray. He was only rhetorically violent when he wrote, "We will have to kill some of those snobs yet before they will learn prudence." And despite some cutting of classes at the University of Virginia Law School, which nearly got him into trouble, young Woodrow himself seemed the epitome of prudence. If any primrose path ran through his youth, he hid it even from his shorthand notes. Evidently he liked to sing with the girls. He was in love with a pretty first cousin, Hattie Woodrow. But his health troubled both his parents and himself. Apparently, however, only a certain final impetuosity prompted his sudden departure from the University of Virginia. This volume ends with a note to Hattie in January, 1881: "My hopes for the future prevent my regretting more than is proper that the past is the past." Still his hopes at that moment could not have been very high.

Altogether this book constitutes a charming portrait of a pious, idealistic, ambitious young man, sent from a home of frugality and faith to the best educational opportunities as the second half of the last century unfolded, it can be read almost like a sort of family autobiography centered around one precious member. It can be so read for simple pleasure if the reader skips (as obviously the scholars who prepared it could not) some of the early essays and most of the sanctimonious religious editorials which the young man wrote under the nom de plume of "Twiwood" for *The North Carolina Presbyterian*. If the subsequent volumes (39 to be produced – two a year) of the Wilson papers hold to the standard set in this one, the books will be invaluable not only to the students of the man but of the times of his youth as well. Also if the promise of this first volume to reveal the whole man is kept, more readers will find these books welcome in their libraries. From them should come answers to the many mysteries which still attend the rise of this parsonage boy to world adulation and then, in quick turn, to tragic frustration for himself and for the high hopes he had lifted for mankind.

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Resurrection Pudding

by Honor Tracy

In producing a long new book about Louis XIV of France, Miss Mitford displays an enviable confidence. We might go further and suggest that she has the nerve of Old Nick. Startling new information alone would seem to call for it: proof, shall we say, that the Sun King was a secret Protestant, or a convinced egalitarian, or a woman. But apart from clearing up a few vulgar misconceptions

The Sun King
by Nancy Mitford
(Harper & Row; $15)

– as, for example, that everyone at Versailles was dirty in person and insanitary of habit – Miss Mitford makes no addition to what was known before. We might have expected at least an original point of view, but she appears to have no particular views at all. She is fascinated, tickled and impressed by the age, the monarch, the château and gardens, the pomp, the intrigues and scandals, and that is that. The instructive parts of the volume read like a school textbook or a superior guide to a national monument: elsewhere, it resembles the blithe chatter of the gossip column. The King is quoted as remarking that he liked "clever, amusing people"; and this inadequate, misleading translation of "*gens d'esprit*" somehow gives the note of the book.

This is all the sadder because Miss Mitford has clearly been to no end of pains. A bibliography is provided of the 59 imposing works, from which she collected her facts. The list is dubbed, rather grandly, "Sources," which calls up a vision of the writer ferreting about in musty archives and poring over faded parchments of the epoch; but it proves to consist entirely of books already published, with many an old familiar friend among them.

Once a fortnight at my school we used to be confronted with a pudding known as Resurrection, in which surviving fragments of previous, different puddings were assembled and bound together with a sweet pink sauce: painful to say, *The Sun King* recalled it to memory more than once.

The facts gleaned in this way, moreover, pour out in a flood that tends to weary by the uncritical, unselective manner of their presentation. Miss Mitford seems either unable to distinguish between the important and the trivial, or to have a clear preference for the latter. Eleven lines are given to the Dauphin's apartment, "all light and air and pleasure," and one, a mere string of adjectives, to the complex personality of Fénelon, an outstanding figure of the age. The cruelly tormented poet Scarron, every whit as interesting as his wife, later Marquise de Maintenon and the King's morganatic spouse, is written off as impotent, feckless and "Z-shaped." It is true that he never got to Versailles and was reprehensibly non-U as well, but a vivid page or so about this brilliant man and his cronies would not have been out of place. Again, we could do with less of the King's goings-on and with more of the country's affairs which, in that period of French ascendancy, must have taken up nearly as much of his time.

This, no doubt, is a matter of taste, and the author has a right to concentrate on what she herself finds of interest. A more serious fault is that none of the characters, not even the King, really comes to life and that, from a novelist of Miss Mitford's calibre, is strange. The lively, coaxing, cowardly little Duc de Maine, the King's eldest son by Mme. de Maintenon and his favorite child, gets nearest to it, helped by extracts from his own correspondence. Mme. de Maintenon appears to breathe now and then as she struggles with her high-class school for girls at Saint-Cyr, which of course is pure Mitford territory. There are some excellent little thumbnail sketches of individuals, among them Père de la Chaise, Racine and the splendidly comic M. de l'Orme, first doctor to the King. On the whole, however, the personages remain oddly remote, curiously wooden: to meet them here after running across them in Saint-Simon or Mme. de Sévigné is like watching a series of lantern slides after a beautifully constructed, perfectly mounted play.

It may be that the qualities which make the novelist are unsuited to the

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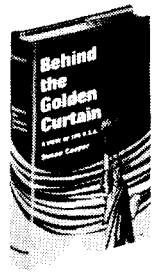

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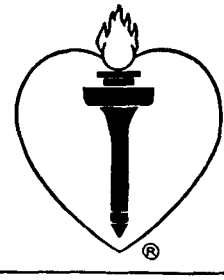
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writing of history. The imagination that creates a world of its own need not be the one to illumine and revive a world that really existed. To say that Miss Mitford's unique, delightful touch is wasted here is not enough, it becomes an actual stumbling-block. Her gaiety, her mischief, her frivolous inconsequential wit, play on the factual with an air of superficiality and facetiousness: all too often we catch the sound of a girlish giggle.

It is difficult, too, to think for whom the book is intended. If for readers entirely new to French history, as much of it would suggest, the canvas is overcrowded. If for readers familiar with the subject and with France, it seems unnecessary to inform them, for example, that a *château* is not a castle in our sense, that stocks and wallflowers are both called *giro-flées* and that the "grand Dauphin" was called so merely because of his build. We may wickedly surmise that it will not be attentively read at all, being one of those profusely, opulently illustrated books that are apt to lie about on drawing-room tables. Already, it will have gone down on scores of Christmas shopping-lists: cultured ladies everywhere will present it to, and receive it again from, their cultured friends.

The General Faces "Reality"

by Jeremy J. Stone

In this book, General Twining offers his right flank only to the California Minutemen. On other fronts, however, he is hopelessly vulnerable in a confrontation with about everyone else. He has unqualified praise only for Edward Teller, John Foster Dulles, and two interesting generals – one of whom was shifted for suggesting in 1943 that Lend-Lease to Russia be halted in view of the favorable turn the war had then already taken; the second was retired for advocating an ultimatum to the Soviets to be followed by an attack upon Russia's "power base."

Neither Liberty Nor Safety
by General Nathan F. Twining
(Holt, Rinehart & Winston; $5.95)

Arrayed against Twining are: "anti-nuclear amateurs"; "anti-nuclear intellectuals"; "arm-chair strategists"; scientists ("who had wiggled their way in as advisors on national policy"); political scientists with "pacifistic tendencies"; the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (striving for "piecemeal unilateral disarmament of the United States"); the State Department ("tone-deafened by the music of appeasement and coexistence"); "transient non-professionals" (civilian officials in the Department of Defense); military men who succumbed to the siren song of "limited" war; Americans who want "to be loved instead of respected"; "defeatists" (characterized by their belief that "no one can win a nuclear war"); and, last but not least, "those who have no particular identifiable objective other than to 'contain communism'" (they should be seeking to "neutralize it").

General Twining says that he is not a proponent of "preventive war" (the quotes are his), but in this last business of "neutralizing" communism, he shows himself to be extraordinarily sympathetic to it. He quotes approvingly his "brilliant" officer, General Anderson, who put the problem this way (before 1950):

> "Which is the greater immorality – preventive war as a means to keep the USSR from becoming a nuclear power; or, to allow a totalitarian dictatorial system to develop a means whereby the free world could be intimidated, blackmailed, and possibly destroyed?"

Twining feels that these views were never accorded a fair hearing by the State Department, "or for that matter, by the military establishment." (However, 30 pages later, in a list of four alternatives considered by the National Security Council in 1949, this approach is described as one of the two policies advocated most vigorously. And a preliminary ultimatum calling for an end to Soviet world subversion and enslavement was conceded to be window dressing to "establish the basic morality of our position" after which we would be not only "free" but "obligated" to act.)

General Twining has a taste for "initiative" and "pursuit." After asserting that we could knock out mainland China overnight, he warns that "the future we face will become increasingly dangerous as their nuclear power develops." He advocates a "very short fuse" in dealing with them and encourages us to "identify the issues" before China has developed a nuclear arsenal. China, he repeats later, will be a real problem if given a little more time and the Johnson Administration, he reports, has thus far given no assurance that it will face up to the Red Chinese leadership "at places and times which are most favorable to the destiny of free men."

After all this, it is anticlimatic to note: his reference to the 1958-1961 testing moratorium as a "plot" of the scientific world; his attack on efforts by "some scientists and the familiar pacifist group in government" to "slow the entry of United States military men into space"; his asking whether we are deliberately cutting down our bomber force to the size of the Soviet force on the basis of a "secret understanding"; and his suggestion that it would be logical to break diplomatic relations with the Russians. Most of Twining's objections to such terms as "limited war," "damage limitation," "war termination capabilities," and "mutual deterrence" rest upon his view that such terms may give the enemy the wrong impression – one of weakness or indecision. But in addition, he is not above accusing the scientist and "moralist" of liking the term "limited war" because it means "someone else will be involved."

Incidentally, his definition of "damage-limitation" ("that US military

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forces should apply power in such manner as to avoid unnecessary destruction of civilian life and property") illustrates his ignorance of the McNamara-vintage jargon – introduced after his retirement in 1960. The term refers not to US efforts to limit damage to *Soviet* life and property – *e.g.*, avoiding attacks on Soviet cities if war occurred – but to US efforts to protect *our own* society through early attacks on Soviet weapons or through active and passive defense. Nor is "stable deterrence" a thesis holding that "war by accident is the greatest threat." Twining is no defense intellectual.

General Twining is no more accurate when he refers to recommendations of the Wiesner panel on Arms Control and Disarmament, made to the International Cooperation Year Symposium. It is noted parenthetically, presumably by a nervous publisher, that these recommendations were "(paraphrased for brevity)." But the white space in the table – all of it on the Wiesner recommendation side – shows this brevity to have been greater than necessary to accommodate the linotypist.

In any case, General Twining has no hesitation about stretching points. "... Self-imposed constraints" on US technological progress becomes "creeping disarmament"; "allowing the enemy time to consolidate his position" (*i.e.* not following a policy of preventive war) is referred to as "appeasement" – not once but twice, and with great emphasis.

The General berates Vanniver Bush for arguing in the late forties that the Russians might not get the bomb until 1960 and credits the military experts with predicting 1950 (only one year wrong). Later when he argues that Soviet espionage "reduced by many years" the time required by the Russians, he ventures to speculate that: "Military professionals took into account the probability of espionage which many scientists did not."

How does Air Force General Twining explain Navy and Army interest in "limited" war, otherwise advocated only by a motley collection of no-goodniks? In the best Madison Avenue tradition, he turns a liability into an asset by blaming it on insufficient defense expenditures. ("It was the shortage of resources, and how these limited resources were to be divided up, that really caused service interest in the idle philosophy of limited war.") As Twining explains it, the philosophy of limited war offered a "convenient bandwagon" for those who wanted to get some of Strategic Air Command resources. But he feels constrained to say that his rival colleagues were "in bed with some very strange company." And he is shocked. ("It was not necessary for dedicated military men to become associated with the philosophy of weakness as represented by the six types of mentalities dissected previously in these pages.") However, he frankly concedes that the Air Force opposed the notion of limited war for self-serving reasons – because it feared the term meant conventional forces and a consequent crippling of the Strategic Air Command. Apropos the notion that a shortage of resources was responsible for this bit of interservice scholasticism, it is later asserted that $50 billion a year could "easily" have been spent for air defense alone.

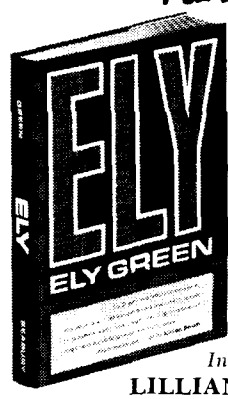
Toward the end of the book, Twining notes that the question of control of nuclear weapons was injected into the presidential campaign of 1964 by Goldwater and for reasons, he asserts mysteriously, which "will probably never be generally known." In the rambling discussion that follows, Twining seems to be hinting that President Johnson either would not be bothered with, or would not discuss, delegation of control over strategic weapons for such situations as those in which Washington (and Johnson) were destroyed in a sneak attack.

The book underscores, in every outraged and undisciplined paragraph, the achievement of Secretary McNamara in gaining effective control of the Department of Defense. General Twining and his associates possess rigidly over-simplified opinions that reflect decades of isolation from political life; they have a natural self-confidence and determination that is heightened by military training and protected by military deference; and their commitment to their views is no less total than the dangers they perceive. It is quite a feat to ride herd on men like this.

It is hard to avoid the impression that Twining's views are the product of cold war battle fatigue. Drafted by his early sense of patriotism, instilled with an overriding concern for his country, ordered to search the horizon for the enemy, surrounded by men similarly charged, frustrated by the inexplicable (if not ominous) opposition of civilians, alarmed by the unpredictable speed of technological change, and conscious of the irrevocable pace of any future total war, General Twining has come to believe that the Test Ban Treaty is unilateral disarmament and to defend the case for two preventive wars.

We have asked of him, not only that he think the unthinkable throughout his adult life, but that he take a deep personal responsibility for avoiding it. We have made him a watchdog, using his exaggerated fears to guard our society. In this important function, he served his country for 44 years in the most demanding offices. When he asserts defiantly that his ally Dr. Teller "lived, and still lives, in a real world – not a dream world," we ought to feel a measure of responsibility, and of compassion, for a man we asked to live apart in a terrible world that never was.

"Strange... Frightening... beautiful..."



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THEATRE

Sepulchral Odors at Lincoln Center

The Alchemist
by Ben Jonson
(The Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center – Vivian Beaumont Theatre)

Jules Irving had two possible alternatives when he decided to stage Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* – either to find some modern equivalent for the action which might point its relevance to contemporary America, or to choose a more traditional mode of presentation and offer the work frankly as a revival. Irving made the latter option, setting the play near its own time (the 17th Century) and adopting a style common on the English stage about fifteen years ago: measured pace, lots of props, elocutionary delivery. The initial decision was honorable enough – it is a pleasure to see a work as brilliantly conceived as *The Alchemist* either in a new framework or an old – but within that option, the production is not successful. For all the farcical frenzy and frenetic activity on the stage of the Vivian Beaumont, there is no road speed in the performance, with the result that some inner vitality has been lost and one of the fastest works in the English language now seems like one of the slowest.

It is difficult to account for the longueurs of the evening. Certainly the playwright is not at fault. The con games Jonson provided for his three central characters are still as fresh and inventive as the day they were conceived, and if alchemy is no longer exactly a popular hipster racket, why then politics and advertising can be easily substituted. Tribulation Wholesome and Ananias, those fanatical Puritan elders, have been replaced by more glib but no less dubious personalities like Oral Roberts and Billy Graham; the gigantic hedonism of Sir Epicure Mammon is now being realized by the kick-seeking Hollywood and Bohemian aristocracy; and openmouthed suckers – like Jonson's gullible Dapper – are still looking for shortcuts to fortune with the horses or the numbers. Kastril, the angry boy who lives to quarrel, is personified today by those who try to prove their manhood through persistent violent encounters, and Abel Drugger, who wants his tobacco shop blessed with magical charms, is no more absurd than those who put religious icons in their automobiles. As for Jonson's amiable con-artists, Subtle and Face, they have become as indigenous to American life as Mom and apple pie – indeed, Melville took the confidence men to be an archetypal national figure. Perhaps the ideal actors in these roles would have been W. C. Fields and Groucho Marx, perhaps the ideal epigraph of the play a common Americanism: never give a sucker an even break.

Then, Jonson's manipulation of his complex action is absolutely masterful: Coleridge was correct to call this one of the three most perfect plays in literature. The author keeps at least six distinct plots bustling simultaneously, not to mention countless secondary plots, and enormous energy is unleashed through this method – none of the strands allowed to touch until the conclusion when they are rolled into a tight ball with the appearance of Face's master, Lovewit, turning to London.

Why then does the Repertory Theatre production seem so dull? The company is considerably more accomplished than previous casts at Lincoln Center, James Hart Stearns' setting captures the atmosphere of the Jacobean theatre without sacrificing the spaciousness or ingenuity of the modern one, and George Rochberg's brassy score has a fine dissonant, and occasionally electronic, raucousness. But the evening suffers from too much production, as if the budget for the show were a large one and every penny had to be spent. Points which should be made through character are made through the use of expensive props; a huge steam-producing machine, with a female figurehead, is pumped for laughs whenever the action flags; the costumes, though handsome, do not look as if they had ever been worn by human beings; and none of the actors manages to make a vivid imprint on his part.

The failure of the actors to rise above the production is the most disappointing aspect of the evening, for most of these performers have been extremely impressive in previous roles. Perhaps they are hamstrung by the casting – I certainly found it strange. Epicure Mammon, for example, possibly the most extravagant and voluptuous figure in dramatic literature, is reduced, by George Voskovec, to a mincing courtier with nervous mannerisms and minor appetites. Mammon's desires are so immense that even his speech is a form of gorging: note how, in his description of the banquets and orgies he intends to give after achieving the philosopher's stone, the sibilant consonants make him sound as if he were slobbering over his words:

> "I myself will have
> The beards of barbels served, instead of sallads:
> Oil'd mushrooms; and the swelling unctuous paps
> Of a fat pregnant sow, newly cut off,
> Drest with an exquisite, and poignant sauce. . . ."

Mammon is a Marlovian figure who wishes not to conquer the world but to swallow it; Voskovec turns him into a hungry middle-European who would be perfectly satisfied with a few scraps in a restaurant not even endorsed by Michelin.

The actors playing Subtle and Face also seem to be miscast, since each would have been more effective in the

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other's role. Michael O'Sullivan – a galvanic actor with Beatle bangs and a marvelous dental smirk – is too light for the weighty Subtle, while Robert Symonds – a heavy presence with the sonorous chuckle of Frank Morgan – is too earthbound for the quicksilver Captain Face. Both Symonds and O'Sullivan are extremely inventive performers who are perfectly capable of managing the numerous impersonations called for by the text (*The Alchemist* is based on the varying of shapes), but since it is makeup and costume that is forced to do the job, one goes away remembering not so much alterations in character as changes in wigs, cloaks, and beards. Philip Bosco, an actor who looks like Redgrave and sounds like Gielgud, is solid and authoritative as Lovewit, and Nancy Marchand, as Dol Common, maintains a solid, vulgar, brawling quality which suggests more than anything the lowlife character of the play, but the actors as a whole simply cannot hold one's attention for more than moments at a time, or wake one from a state of semi-somnabulism.

The production, finally, is without risk, and without the fine ensemble work that might divert attention from the lack of risk. Oh, there is one playful textual innovation – Tribulation Wholesome is played by a woman. Aline McMahon, who plays the part, is a charming, warmhearted actress, but charm and warmth are hardly appropriate qualities for this smooth, unctuous hypocrite, and considering what the Puritans thought about the *monstrous regiment of women*, it is not very likely that a female preacher would have been accepted into the ranks of the Anabaptists. Ultimately, then, the production is the result neither of good antiquarian research nor of a novel vision, and that may be why, for all its intermittent moments of vitality, it gives the impression of having entombed the play.

Robert Brustein

RECORDS

Autumn Miscellany

It's as though one of the art galleries had put on view a newly discovered Cézanne: Angel has issued on one of its new low-priced Seraphim records, 60007, a performance of Chopin's Concerto No. 1 by Dinu Lipatti which was unknown until now. It was recorded in 1948, with faulty balance of piano and orchestra that must be why it was not released; but the flaws in recording count for nothing as against Lipatti's marvelous playing – so simple-hearted, as one listener observed, and at the same time so sophisticated in its elegance and subtleties of melodic and rhythmic inflection that make it the finest playing of Chopin I know. The excellent unidentified orchestra is presumably the Philharmonia, with which the unidentified conductor provides Lipatti's playing with a good orchestral context.

As great a loss as Lipatti's early death was that of the young conductor Guido Cantelli; and one welcomes the reissue, on Seraphim 60002, of his marvelous performances of Mendelssohn's *Italian* Symphony and Schubert's *Unfinished* with the Philharmonia. No conductor has appeared of the magnitude of Cantelli; but Cliburn, Ashkenazy and Gould are pianists whose powers are comparable with Lipatti's. And a notable event is the release on RCA Victor LM- and LSC-2931, of which I have heard a test pressing of the excellent-sounding stereo version – of Cliburn's performances of Mozart's Sonata K.330 and Beethoven's Sonata Op. 81a (*Les Adieux*). Years ago, when reviewers were condescending to Cliburn as someone who could play virtuoso display pieces like the Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninov concertos but had yet to learn to play Mozart, I felt certain that the unfailing musical intelligence and taste, the unfailing sense for note-to-note continuity in enunciation of phrase and for coherence in shaping of larger structure, that I heard operating in the Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninov concertos, would operate in whatever Cliburn played, including Mozart. And they do operate in the performances – distinguished and effective in their different styles – of the Mozart and Beethoven sonatas on these records.

Ashkenazy's playing in the opening movement of Schumann's Fantasia Op. 17, on London CM-9471 (mono) – now more than usually impassioned and now lingeringly introspective – makes one aware of the movement's episodic character, yet manages to avoid discontinuity except at a couple of long pauses, where the continuity that his physical appearance would preserve in the concert hall is destroyed on the record. It is never less than superb playing; but I find Curzon's less turbulent performance – available on imported Decca LXT-2933 – more effective. There is similar alternation of impassioned and quietly lyrical playing in the Etudes Symphoniques on the reverse side (I remember the performance in New York last year as being less turbulent), and especially beautiful playing in the additional variations that are customarily omitted (for example in the excellent Casadeus performance on Columbia records). I must report slightly crackling surfaces on the two copies I played.

Hephzibah Menuhin's playing in Mozart's Piano Concertos K.449 and 459, on imported Odeon SME-91282 (stereo only), though small in scale, articulates their flow of melody with clarity, strength and cohesive tension as well as grace. And her brother provides

Notes on Contributors

Joseph Featherstone, *a graduate student at Harvard, is engaged in organizing a model elementary school in Roxbury, Mass.* Jonathan Daniels *is the editor of the Raleigh (N.C.)* News and Observer. Honor Tracy's *newest book,* Men at Work, *will be published by Random House in January.* Jeremy J. Stone *is the author of* Containing the Arms Race.

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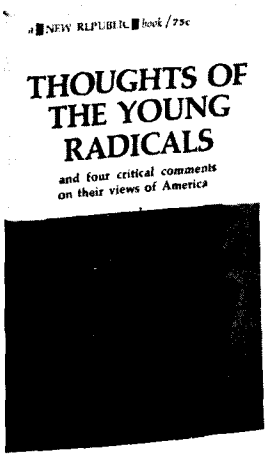
- The introduction is by Andrew Kopkind, Associate Editor of *The New Republic*, who has followed the activities of the young radicals over the past few years.



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The new low-priced Crossroads records offer excellent performances of Bach's Violin Concertos in A minor and E and his Concerto in D minor for two violins by Josef Suk and Ladislav Jásek with the Prague Symphony under Smetácek (16-0037), Mozart's Sinfonia Concertante K.364 for violin and viola by Suk and Milan Skampa with the Czech Philharmonic under Redel (16-0015), Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 75 (*La Chasse*) and 96 (regrettably not the Landon corrected text) by the Prague Chamber Orchestra (16-0031), Mahler's Symphony No. 1 by Ancerl with the Czech Philharmonic (16-0011), and Schubert's *Trout* Quintet and *Quartettsatz* by the Smetana Quartet, Jan Panenka, piano, and an assisting double bass (16-0029). These are recently made Supraphon recordings; and the numbers are those of the mono versions I prefer.

The performance of Tchaikovsky's *Manfred* by Markevich and the London Symphony on Philips 500-110 and 900-110 (I prefer the mono) – even though it doesn't give the first movement the tremendous power Toscanini's performance gives it – is excellent. What Markevich restores in the last movement turns out to justify Toscanini's omission of it.

Wenziger's performance of Handel's *Water Music* with the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, on Deutsche Grammophon ARC-3625 (mono) is good; but I find Menuhin's pacing of the music on the Angel record more satisfying.

Similarly, the fine Dowland songs on Deutsche Grammophon ARC-3245 are sung intelligently by the mezzo-soprano Andrea von Ramm, the tenor Nigel Rogers and the counter-tenor Grayston Burgess; but their voices are not attractive; and I recommend instead Russell Oberlin's performances of some of these songs and others, on Experiences Anonymes 34.

And in the new performance of Mozart's *The Abduction from the Seraglio* that Jochum conducts well on Deutsche Grammophon 39-213/4/5 and 139-213/4/5, the singing of Erika Koeth (Constanze) and Fritz Wunderlich (Belmonte) is not as beautiful as that of Maria Stader and Ernst Haefliger in the earlier performance on 18-184/5 (mono only).

The new Handel *Messiah* on Philips 500-125/6/7 (mono) is one of the great events of the year. There have been other performances with a small chorus and orchestra like those of Handel's day – performances in which, moreover, the chorus and orchestra were as fine as the London Symphony Choir and London Symphony Orchestra that perform in the Philips performance, and the soloists were as good as Heather Harper, Helen Watts, John Wakefield and John Shirley-Quick of this performance. Those other performances didn't observe the conventions of Handelian performance – *e.g.* the double-dotting, the ornamentation of vocal parts; but it is not the observance of these conventions that makes the Philips performance so notable. What does is the conducting of Colin Davis, one of the most gifted of the younger conductors of today, who keeps the music wonderfully alive and expressive with his excellent tempos and inflection of phrase.

"I know that my Redeemer liveth" from *Messiah* is one of the pieces on imported Odeon HQM-1015 in which the soprano Isobel Baillie deploys the exquisitely pure and clear voice we got to know in recordings of the '40s. She sings also pieces from Handel's *Samson* and *Judas Maccabaeus*, "With verdure clad" from Haydn's *The Creation*, and Purcell's "Tell me, some pitying Angel."

It used to be difficult to recommend good reproducing equipment at moderate cost; but in the last year I have been able to recommend the KLH Model 19 at $300 ($230 without the FM tuner), which produces sound of excellent quality and of sufficient volume for the usual living room. I find it superior to the higher-priced Model 20.

And that concludes my writing in this column. B. H. HAGGIN

Next month, The New Republic *will inaugurate a new column on music, written by Robert Evett, who is a composer as well as book editor of this journal. It will discuss recordings along with outstanding musical events, developments in music education, the effects of patronage on the art, books about and by composers.*

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Correspondence

Were We Wrong about Mississippi?

Sirs:

In publishing the October 15 story entitled "Shriver Drops CDGM" [Child Development Group of Mississippi] *The New Republic* has lent itself to a continuing and scurrilous attack on the motives and good faith of the NAACP and its leaders, particularly those of Roy Wilkins.

The statement that "The White House called Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP, who in turn got in touch with Aaron Henry," is a plain, unvarnished lie. Moreover, the author or authors of it know it is a lie, and they have fabricated it in order to cast a slur on the NAACP. Mr. Wilkins has not discussed CDGM with either Aaron Henry or anyone in the Administration.

Like many others, both groups and individuals, who have been deeply concerned about the future of CDGM and of the Headstart program in Mississippi, I have had conversations with Aaron Henry and with officials of OEO over the past six weeks. Our position has been to support fully that of Aaron Henry, our state president in Mississippi, of Charles Evers, our Mississippi field director, and of the NAACP state executive board, all of whom have been explicit in urging (1) that OEO renew its grant to CDGM, and (2) failing that, that some alternative machinery should be set up in order that the programs might continue. The executive board reaffirmed this position as recently as October 2, 1966. No representatives of the NAACP have met, secretly or otherwise, with Senator Stennis.

The true intent of the writer of your story is further underscored by his snide reference to Aaron Henry as "a one-time Mississippi radical who has turned moderate." Short of losing his life, no Negro in Mississippi can surpass Aaron Henry's credentials as a militant leader in the fight for racial justice. How many bombings, beatings and jailings does your writer require?

It is pertinent to note that the position of our Mississippi leadership was based on principle and that it chose for that reason to ignore the studied exclusion of NAACP participations from most of the programs conducted by CDGM. The references to NAACP in your story were thus not only untrue and unfair; they compounded an injury sought by forces in Mississippi which are dedicated to the elimination of NAACP influence from the state.

John A. Morsell
Assistant Executive Director
NAACP
New York, N.Y.

Your article . . . contains a number of major errors of fact and interpretation about Mississippi Action for Progress. Some can probably be explained by the press of time and the necessity to get something into type. Others are the obvious result of a deep bias in favor of CDGM, a bias which some members of MAP's present board of directors shared. But there are others for which the kindest word is untruth.

Item: MAP is not going to strip the Head Start programs which it will operate of their comunity action function. Its by-laws specifically provide for county committees which will be formed from those participating in the program in each county. These committees will have direct responsibility for program direction, policy recommendations and personnel supervision. It is MAP's deepest hope that within a very short time these committees can be spun off as independent units operating as CAP boards under separate financing and their own direction.

Item: MAP's board will not be entirely hand-picked by its first 12 members. Six additional directors will be elected by and from the counties in which MAP will operate Head Start programs. This, too, is stipulated in the by-laws.

Item: It is a lie to assert or imply that state NAACP members met secretly with Sen. John Stennis prior to or after MAP's formation. They have never done so. It is a lie to assert that the White House contacted Roy Wilkins who in turn contacted Aaron Henry to serve on the new board. The only contacts were made between MAP board members and OEO representatives. It is a lie to say that any White House assistant or Douglas Wynn had any part to play in putting the MAP board

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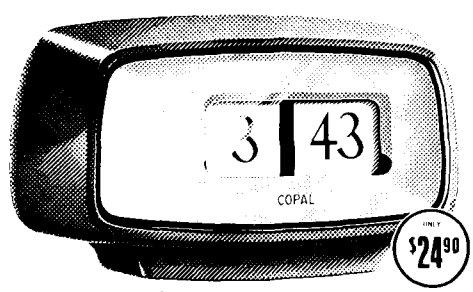

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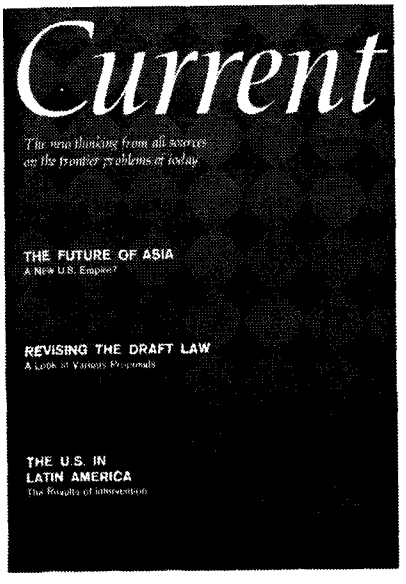

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together. They did not. Wynn played absolutely no role in contacting or convincing anyone on MAP's board to serve.

Item: It is a mistake to say that Owen Cooper and Aaron Henry were at any time co-chairmen of MAP. At MAP's first organizational meeting, held on Oct. 6, Cooper was elected chairman and Merrill Lindsey was elected vice chairman.

Item: Oliver Emmerich is not a loyalist Democrat but a long-time Republican, having backed Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956 and Nixon in 1960. Several other board members are not Democrats or Republicans but independents.

Item: It is a misstatement to say that this board is intended as a political vehicle of any kind. Owen Cooper has no intention of running for governor in 1967. If anyone knows anything about Mississippi politics at *The New Republic*, he must know that service on a biracial committee of this sort would automatically destroy any white's political ambitions in Mississippi. Further, an item in the by-laws of MAP specifically states that no board member can run for any elective office, other than relatively inconsequential local ones such as school boards.

Your zeal in CDGM's behalf is not at issue. There is no one on MAP's board who had any desire to undertake this program as a device to kill CDGM. All were assured that there would be no Head Start program for countless Mississippi children unless a new board could be formed. MAP has only one intention: to bring Head Start to as many children as possible. It does not intend to compete in any counties in which there are existing Head Start centers.

The gratuitous remarks that MAP's charter provides that it shall be kept secret is, perhaps, an understandable misunderstanding, but it is standard language in all non-profit corporation charters to say that the charter need not be made public, just as the charter also says that there will be no issuance of stock, etc. The charter itself is and was a matter of public record.

MAP is a creation of its members. There have never been any conversations, deals or manipulation with or by any Mississippi official or any White House official in establishing the organization. In this case, I would suggest that final judgment on what MAP may do be suspended until you see what MAP does do.

Hodding Carter III
Greenville, Mississippi

In reply:

What is happening to CDGM is a kind of metaphor about the whole War on Poverty. CDGM put into practice the rhetoric of the larger poverty program. "In the flat cotton counties of Mississippi," we wrote in this journal a year ago, "the federal government has come close to subsidizing a movement of poor Negroes to change the pattern of their short, nasty, and brutish lives." Now that central theme of the War on Poverty has been muted. CDGM was cut off by the OEO primarily because it was so successful in its stated goal of community action to break the cycle of poverty. The lives of poor black people in Mississippi *did* change, by the experience of running their own affairs – in this case, a system of pre-schools

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for 12,000 children at 121 centers in 28 counties throughout the state.

The impact of CDGM was not confined to kindergarten education. The thousands of parents who participated in running the schools and planning their policies, hiring staff and fighting the inevitable battles, took a new interest in their communities.

The newly activated Negroes had their "agenda" for what they wanted to happen in Mississippi. It was articulated clearly in some cases, and less explicitly in others – exactly as the political demands of Mississippi whites are expressed. But the activation of a large group of poor people with a different agenda for social development was thought to threaten those in power. CDGM's people threatened Senator Stennis, who certainly does not want a large, viable Negro opposition to develop. They threatened white leaders (and Negro "teachers and preachers") in the counties of Mississippi, who fear they are about to lose power. They also threatened those "moderates" in the state who have been trying to put together a new, Democratic coalition.

Mr. Carter is an architect of that new coalition. He is being unduly pessimistic when he says that participation in "moderate" activities destroys political futures. Quite the opposite is true; it is the hope of MAP's leaders that with the help of a base of poor Negroes on the one hand, and the services of the national Democratic Administration on the other, they can eventually emerge as the major political force in Mississippi. Mr. Carter and Aaron Henry, among others, helped found the Mississippi Democratic Conference to that end. It foundered, and its role was largely assumed by the Young Democrats, of which Mr. Carter is state chairman. The YDs have the support, to one degree or another, of the White House and of Senator Robert Kennedy. A few months ago, a Kennedy aide said that their "men in Mississippi" were Henry and NAACP director Charles Evers. One of the chief advisers to the YDs is Douglas Wynn, a long-time personal friend of President Johnson.

It is impossible to look at the complicated dealings between CDGM, the OEO, and the other Head Start groups in Mississippi, outside of that political context. Thus, when Mr. Carter says that his outfit, MAP, will "provide for county committees" and will have a "community action function," it is necessary to see that that function will be to shore up MAP's agenda for Mississippi, and the political power of the Carter-Henry coalition.

Thus, when Mr. Carter says that Oliver Emmerich backed Eisenhower in the fifties and Nixon in 1960, it is important to ask who he backed in 1964, and why he is now thoroughly associated with the group of rich Mississippians supporting President Johnson. The political map (no pun intended) of Mississippi is changing rapidly. Many 1964 Republicans were old Democrats. Many of the pre-1964 Republicans are now Democrats. And thus, when Mr. Carter says that the MAP board will not be "entirely" handpicked, it is worthwhile thinking about the mechanism of control on such a board. What kind of arrangement of power will obtain between 12 "handpicked" original members and six "elected" members from the counties? What will the pre-selection as well as the selection process be? It should be clear that the MAP board will be like most such boards – an instrument to effectuate the decisions of its most powerful members. That may not be wrong, or even unusual; but it *is* political.

About the details of the relationships between Stennis, Aaron Henry, Wynn, the OEO, the White House, Roy Wilkins, etc., which Mr. Carter questions, we can only say that we believe them all to be true as stated. Mr. Carter denies them, but offers no counterproof. Many of the items were subsequently checked and reported by other journalists, and repeated in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. That, of course, is no proof of their accuracy, but Mr. Carter ought to put in at least as much evidence on his side as the reporters did on theirs. There is firm evidence that White House aide Harry McPherson spoke with Mississippians about the future of CDGM and was instrumental in the negotiations leading to the establishment of MAP.

One minor point: When the story of the establishment of MAP was leaked to the Jackson papers, officers had not been elected. It was known that Owen Cooper was the representative of "white power" and Aaron Henry repre-

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sented "black power" in the coalition. It was assumed that they would be co-chairmen. Subsequently, Cooper was elected chairman, and Henry was not. But he remains the leader of the Negro side in the organization.

It is interesting to get verification of the national NAACP's interest in CDGM from Mr. Morsell. We had not heard that he, as Roy Wilkins' assistant, had "conversations" with Aaron Henry and with OEO officials since the end of August or the beginning of September. Did he carry on these conversations without the advice and consent of Roy Wilkins?

We have learned on good authority that William Phillips, the OEO's chief lobbyist, was in Biloxi in August for a convention of the Young Democrats, and caught up with Aaron Henry at that time. He told Henry that CDGM was as good as dead, and wondered whether he would like to form a new Head Start group to take its place. Phillips was known to be opposed to CDGM on "practical" grounds: he told some OEO officials that re-funding of CDGM might cost the OEO the whole antipoverty bill in Congress this year.

Phillips also tried to get the AFL-CIO head man in Mississippi, Claude Ramsey, into the anti-CDGM camp, but Ramsey refused. For one thing, he couldn't abide the thought of having Owen Cooper as a leader. Cooper, an industrialist, has been strongly anti-union, and Ramsey has been fighting him for a long time. Ramsey's refusal was crucial: it broke up the old Democratic Conference coalition, and excluded the big labor interests. Walter Reuther soon became the leading force behind the campaign to save CDGM. Reuther (and his organizational base, the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty) was able to draw church leaders into the fight. On October 14, some 80 ministers picketed for CDGM in front of the OEO building in Washington. The late churchman, Dr. Robert W. Spike (who was murdered last week in Columbus, Ohio), directed the Citizens Crusade's "Board of Inquiry" into CDGM. Its report concluded that CDGM had been an important social invention, that it deserved refunding immediately, and that the OEO's charges against its operating procedures were either irrelevant, correctable, or untrue.

THE EDITORS

Kauffmann, *from page 21*

ventional forms with unconventional love and its enjoyable sadnesses. Those films, like these novels, are high-level soap-opera: the credible dramatization of sophisticated daydreams.

In a recent survey of the current French literary scene J. G. Weightman notes "the French distinction between the inventive part of literature and that which respects already established forms and themes." Then he says: "At any given moment, a large body of writers is producing 'traditional' novels or plays and it may sometimes be the case – although a typical Parisian intellectual will never admit it – that the 'traditional' has a better chance of survival than the 'avant-garde'." The question of survival is not one with which we need afflict Miss Sagan, but Weightman's reminder – that the traditional is always continuing under the more newsworthy – is given emphasis by her work. And it reminds us that no form or method is ever dead when it is well used. The naturalistic play is dead, and we can all prove it, until an interesting one comes along, like *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* The traditional novel is dead and, according to the French, deader in France than elsewhere, until Miss Sagan writes another book and proves that Colette has a descendant. Not an equivalent, but an active descendant.

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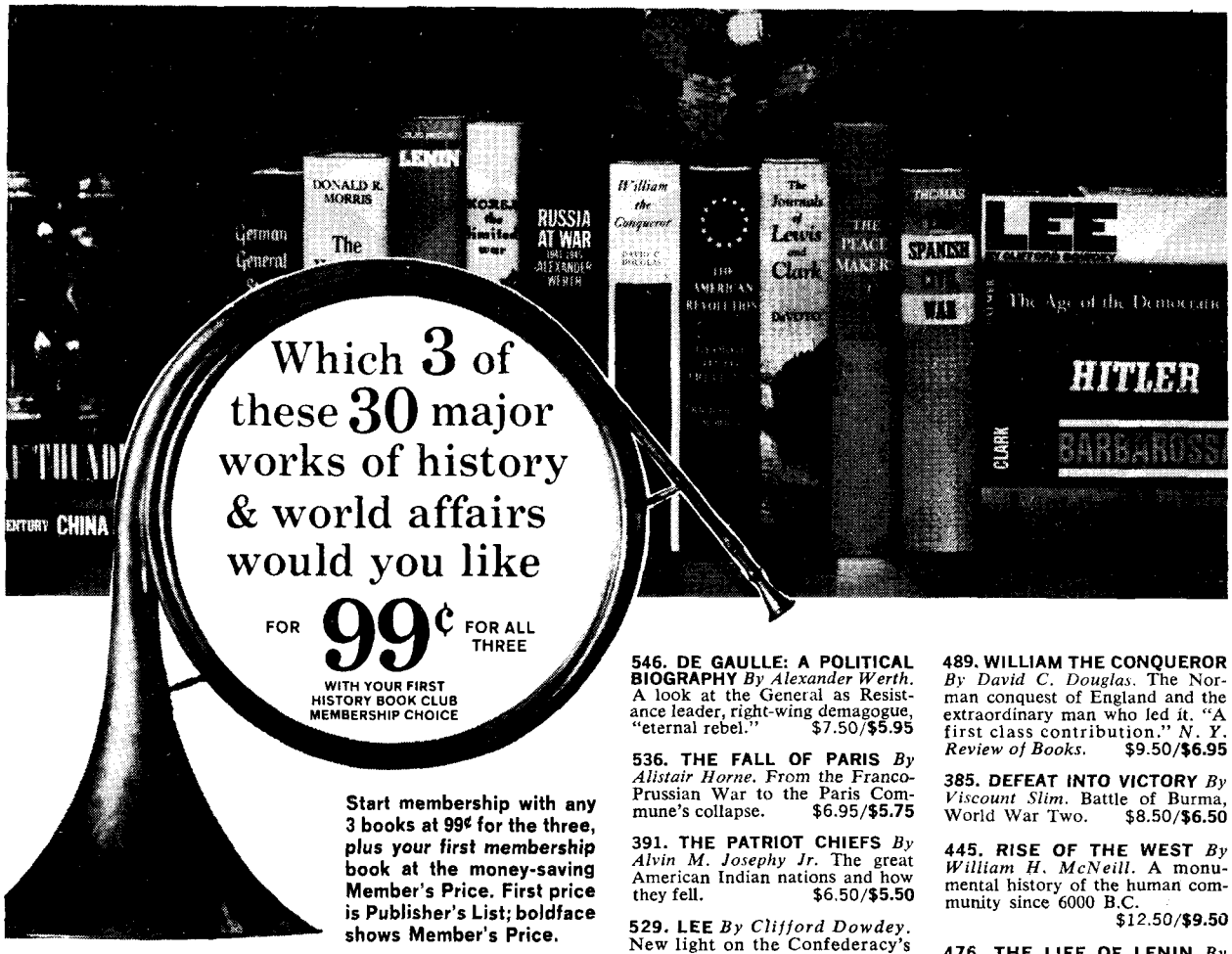

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